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VOL. XXVI NO. 4

JULY, 1921

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## THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

41 NORTH QUEEN STREET, LANCASTER, PA.

54-66 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

LONDON: MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.

Registered at the post-office, Lancaster, Pa., as second-class mail matter

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Correspondence in regard to contributions to the REVIEW may be sent to the Managing Editor, J. Franklin Jameson, Carnegie Institution, 1220 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C., or to the Board of Editors. Books for review may be sent to the Managing Editor. Subscriptions should be sent to The Macmillan Company, 41 North Oyster St., Lancaster, Pa., or 65 Fifth Ave., New York. The price of subscriptions, to persons who are not members of the American Historical Association, is four dollars a year; single numbers are 10¢ for one dollar (back numbers at the same rate); bound volumes may be obtained for six dollars, up to and including vol. XXV. Volumes after that number may be obtained for \$7.50.

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PRINTED BY  
THE NEW YORK PRINTING COMPANY  
LANCASTER, PA.

## The American Historical Review

### MR. WELLS AND THE NEW HISTORY

WHEN the cynical mood is uppermost, one is likely to agree with Voltaire that "after all history is only a pack of tricks which we play on the dead".<sup>1</sup> There is nothing you cannot find in the past—except the truth: a truth you can indeed find; any number of truths are there ready to be picked out, and perfectly indifferent to the process. Such facts as the mind is predisposed to select as interesting or important will come out and "speak for themselves". The trouble is, they don't care what they say; and with a little intelligent prompting they will speak, within reason, whatever they are commanded to speak. In an educational journal I learn, apropos of the teaching of American history, that by "making William the Conqueror a starting point, for example, it is possible to show the steady progress of the people onward and upward from that period of enslavement to the present time".<sup>2</sup> I do not doubt it: onward and upward to the Great War, and beyond—to the League of Nations, or the Peace of Versailles, or the ultimate establishment of the Soviet régime throughout the world. The past will provide humanity with any fate you like to imagine. O History, how many truths have been committed in thy name!

In more judicious moments the same idea may be expressed by saying that each age reinterprets the past to suit its own purposes. Leaving aside the vagaries that distinguish individuals, historians cannot wholly free themselves, however detached they may strive to be, from the most general preconceptions of the age in which they live. In quiescent times, when men are mostly well satisfied with the present, or when they fear change and wish to

<sup>1</sup> Letter to de Cideville, Feb. 9, 1757. *Oeuvres* (Paris, 1880), XXXIX, 173.

<sup>2</sup> *Education*, February, 1911, p. 371.

sit tight, they are likely to be satisfied with the past, are likely to be grateful to it for having contributed to the best of worlds; and at such times historians will easily fall into the habit of just recording what happened, as in itself sufficiently interesting and instructive. But in periods of stress, when the times are thought to be out of joint, those who are dissatisfied with the present are likely to be dissatisfied with the past also. At such times historians, those of the younger generation at least, catching the spirit of unrest, will be disposed to cross-examine the past in order to find out why it did not usher in a better state of affairs, will be disposed, as it were, to sit in judgment on what was formerly done, approving or disapproving in the light of present discontents. The past is a kind of screen upon which each generation projects its vision of the future; and so long as hope springs in the human breast, the "new history" will be a recurring phenomenon.

About the middle of the eighteenth century (not to go farther back) the *Philosophes* proclaimed a "new history". "All the weight of our historians", said Grimm in 1755, "consists in a stupid and pedantic discussion of facts which are commonly as unimportant as they are uncertain and disputed".<sup>3</sup> What Grimm and his friends demanded was a study of the past which would enable them to understand, not how the present had come to be what it was, but how they might make it better. "I shall not undertake to prove the utility of history", says Duclos; "It is a truth too generally recognized to need proof. . . . When we see the same faults regularly followed by the same misfortunes, we may reasonably think that if we could have known the first we could have avoided the second. The past should enlighten us on the future; the knowledge of history is no more than an experience anticipated."<sup>4</sup> The *Philosophes* were well aware of the importance of studying the past, but they studied it in the light of a certain general preconception: they wished to disengage from the past those ideas, those institutions, those striking events and heroic actions, which might be regarded as having a permanent and universal validity, which might for that reason be regarded as conforming to the essential nature of man, and which might therefore serve as guiding principles in the pressing task of social regeneration.

After the French Revolution had run its course, it was the common opinion for a long time that the regeneration of society

<sup>3</sup> *Correspondance Littéraire*, III. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Preface to the "Histoire de Louis XI.", *Oeuvres*, III.



had gone far enough. The main drift and pressure of thought was away from change; and the minds of men, fearing revolution and desiring peace and a return to normal conditions, looked to the past in order to find there, if possible, new foundations for a stable social order. The "new history" of the nineteenth century became in consequence the chief intellectual bulwark of conservatism. Historians for the most part studied the past as an inevitable process which must in any case be submitted to, but which, once rightly understood, might at least be submitted to intelligently. "What is the use of rebelling against historical right"? asked von Ranke; and having asked this question, he went imperturbably on revealing God's will by relating the devices of Sixtus V. for increasing the papal revenue. To-day this mood is passing. The tyranny of historic right grows as burdensome as the tyranny of kings; and men who once knew Joseph are calling for a reinterpretation of the past in the service of social reform. Professor Robinson, quite in the spirit of Grimm, deploras the time spent by historians in determining "whether Charles the Fat was in Ingelheim or Lustnau on July 1, 887", and invites them for a change to contemplate the jaw of the Heidelberg Man. He is only one of many who are again calling for a "new history", a history which will not be content to relate the fact just as it happened, but which shall, on the contrary, "exploit the past in the interest of advance".<sup>5</sup> Mr. Wells's book is a notable attempt to write the history of the world from this new, and at the same time very old, point of view.

In a brief introduction Mr. Wells states his purpose:

This *Outline of History* is an attempt to tell, truly and clearly, in one continuous narrative, the whole history of life and mankind so far as it is known to-day. It is written plainly for the general reader, but its aim goes beyond its use as merely interesting reading matter. . . . The need for a common knowledge of the general facts of human history throughout the world has become very evident during the tragic happenings of the last few years. . . . There can be no peace now, we realize, but a common peace in all the world; no prosperity but a general prosperity. But *there can be no common peace and prosperity without common historical ideas*. Without such ideas to hold them together in harmonious co-operation, with nothing but narrow, selfish, and conflicting nationalist traditions, races and peoples are bound to drift towards conflict and destruction. . . . A sense of history as the common adventure of all mankind is as necessary for peace within as it is for peace between the nations. Such are the views of history that this *Outline* seeks to realize. It is an attempt to tell how our present state of affairs, this distressed and multifarious human life about us, arose in the course of vast ages and out of

<sup>5</sup> *The New History*, pp. 81, 24.

the inanimate clash of matter, and to estimate the quality and amount and range of the hopes with which it now faces its destiny.

A more ambitious attempt could not well be imagined. That one man should have the courage to undertake it, still more that he should have the resolution to carry it through, fills one with amazement and admiration. It is well known that "fools rush in"; it is well known that Mr. Wells rushes in; but it is well known that Mr. Wells is no fool. We cordially welcome his extraordinary performance. It may well be that more people will read his book than ever read Voltaire or Macaulay or von Ranke. What will they find in this plain history of life and mankind?

They will find, for one thing, that Mr. Wells begins at the beginning—or very nearly so. He does not begin with electrons, but at least he begins with the physical universe. "The earth on which we live is a spinning globe"—such is the dramatic opening of the first book in which we learn of "The Making of Our World". What will strike the reader particularly, and doubtless was intended to, is that it was an incredibly long time in the making—80 or 800 million years, more or less, according to the best guesses. Book II. treats of "The Making of Man". In the history of life on the globe, man is a relatively recent product; but there is still a great discrepancy between the date fixed by Mr. Wells for the appearance of the first man and the date fixed by Archbishop Ussher. Mr. Wells barely mentions Archbishop Ussher's contribution to the solution of this problem, but takes it for granted that an earlier date has now been established. Through 101 pages he discusses the character and *mores* of those remote and unamiable first Europeans—the Heidelberg Sub-Man (*circ.* 250,000 B.C.), the Neanderthal men of the early Palaeolithic (50,000 B.C.), the first "true men" of the late Palaeolithic, and the Neolithic men who came in some ten or twelve thousand years ago. These last were "ancestral to the modern Europeans", there being "no real break in culture from their time onward". In the Neolithic culture the beginnings of modern civilization must accordingly be found. Giving three admirably clear and interesting chapters to the origins of thought and religion, the differentiation of races, and the variations of language, Mr. Wells passes to the third book, "The Dawn of History", in which the general reader will find excellent accounts of such subjects as Aryan Speaking Peoples in Prehistoric Times, the First Civilizations in Assyria, Egypt, China, and India, the early Aegean civilization, the origin of writing, the beginning of kingship, priestcraft, castes

and social classes. Book III. closes with a "summary of 5,000 years". At page 274, with one-fifth of the *Outline* finished, we come at last to "Judaea, Greece, and India"—that is to say, the beginning of human history as it used, not so long ago, to be written.

In the story as Mr. Wells relates it from this point, we miss the traditional landmarks. The table of contents does not contain those familiar terms by which we save ourselves the trouble of taking thought—Ancient History, Medieval History, Modern History, Medieval Church, Medieval Empire, Protestant Reformation. In Book IV., "Judaea, Greece, and India", and Book V., "The Rise and Collapse of the Roman Empire", we are still in fairly familiar country; but in the following books "Christianity and Islam", "Mongol Empires of the Land Ways and the New Empires of the Sea Ways", "Princes, Parliaments, and Powers", Mr. Wells employs names for his major subjects which leave the well-drilled student wondering whether he has not inadvertently abandoned history for something else. The well-drilled student should remember that Mr. Wells, aiming at the history of mankind, endeavors, and with some success, to put Europe in its proper place. From this novel point of view it is possible to regard the history of mankind since the "fall of Rome" in a somewhat less restricted way; to regard it as perhaps centring in three major series of events: (1) the conflict of Islam and Christianity, with the consequent closing in of Western Europe, and the development there, in comparative isolation, of a restricted and provincial way of life and thought; (2) the gradual expansion of the peoples of Western Europe from the twelfth century, resulting in renewed contact with Asia, the liberalization of the intelligence of the Western European peoples, and the transformation of their institutions; (3) the rise of military and industrial states in Europe and America, gradually extending their economic and political power throughout the world, and contending among themselves for the spoils of victory.

To get the full effect of this new grouping, and indeed of Mr. Wells's performance in general, one must read the work as a whole. It is distinctly not a book of reference, but one of which a primary purpose is to convey a sense of the unity and continuity of human history; and there is probably no book, certainly none for the general reader, that so effectively performs that service. Speaking for myself at least (and for most of human history I am no more than a general reader), I arise from a fairly continuous reading of Mr. Wells's book much refreshed, and much enlightened on certain points. I was glad to learn, for example, that Christianity origin-

ated in Judaea with the teachings of a man called Jesus, and not in Rome during the reign of the Emperor Nero. I now know that there were people living in Persia between the days of Xerxes and Mr. Shuster, and that the history of India did not begin with Vasco da Gama or that of China with Jenghis Khan. In general, Mr. Wells has dispelled a vague impression that History, having made a few half-hearted attempts to get things started in the valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates, abandoned the effort about the sixth century B.C., and migrated to Europe where she has since resided. I have a renewed sense of history as "the common adventure of all mankind", and more than ever before it seems to me likely that mankind may safely be taken to include the "backward" peoples of Asia as well as the forward peoples of Europe.

Some books have high value because, aiming to do a great thing, they at least show us what the great thing is, and so make us wish to have it greatly done. Mr. Wells's book has this high value. It should enable thousands of intelligent men and women throughout the world to see history in better perspective, giving them, however imperfectly, a new sense of humanity's slow and painful emergence from savagery, and in some measure bringing home to them a realization of the intimate and inescapable interrelation of the fortunes of all peoples.

Such is the scope of the work. What are its special qualities? It may seem that if a novelist can write the history of mankind a professor of history might venture to pronounce upon its merits in respect to scholarship and as a contribution to knowledge. Such is not the case. The man of letters may without reproach acquire a knowledge of general history; but the professor of history is not thus free. It is understood that *his* knowledge is intensive to the point of exhaustion, but not sufficiently extensive to be of weight on questions with other than geographical or chronological limits. Upon Mr. Wells's scholarship and general accuracy I shall therefore pronounce no judgment. It will be sufficient to note that Mr. Wells is aware of his limitations in this respect, and that he has wisely sought the aid of many men, especially of Mr. Ernest Barker, Sir H. H. Johnston, Sir E. Ray Lankester, and Professor Gilbert Murray. These men, all competent scholars in their several fields, have doubtless saved Mr. Wells from serious errors in matters of fact; and it was open to them to make objection, in the form of signed foot-notes, to whatever they found objectionable in matters of inference and opinion. It should, perhaps, be added that their objections are both more

frequent and more pointed in the last five books than in the first four.

A contribution to knowledge the book does not of course pretend to be; but a contribution to the meaning which we may, and indeed ought, to attach to the knowledge we have, it does very particularly pretend to be. What chiefly concerns the critic, therefore, is not Mr. Wells's knowledge or technical competence, but his interpretation, his general philosophy of history. It may well be that he has not much thumbed the *Monumenta Germanic* or the *Rolls Series*, that the *Wegweiser* has not been his *vade mecum*; perhaps he might with advantage have selected more or less or other facts; doubtless he has made erroneous statements. But the book does not stand or fall on these points. Mr. Wells has facts enough, and sufficiently accurate, for the main purpose. What is that purpose? In what frame of mind does the author approach his subject? Through what particular combination of present experience and knowledge of the past does the mind of Mr. Wells contrive to find a philosophy of history in which it can comfortably rest? Regarded from this point of view, what stands out most invitingly is that as Mr. Wells proceeds in his task his frame of mind changes; and this change is connected, whether as cause or effect I cannot tell, with his general conception of history, his particular theory of its meaning and purport.

In the earlier books Mr. Wells seems to be on good terms with his subject. He treats it with consideration, with friendliness, with a certain geniality. I have a strong impression that Mr. Wells found all these prehistoric questions intensely interesting, that he has gone into them probably for some years back, with all his wonderfully absorptive faculties working at top speed, that he has taken the time and the pains to read the best books and talk with the best scholars in each special field. The account strikes one as that of a man who has mastered the subject well enough to understand the evidence, to be aware of the difficulties, and to realize that the best he could do was to follow with caution and humility in the steps of better equipped men. It is in the spirit of the scientist, desiring only to know how it really was, with no special thesis to defend and no practical aims to further, that Mr. Wells approaches his subject in these first books.

In the later books this equable and objective attitude is more and more, and at last almost altogether, replaced by a different one. One may say that the genial, friendly mood, the mood of the intellectually interested mind, is in the ascendant whenever



Mr. Wells is occupied with the descriptive setting forth of a religion, the advancement of science and learning, or some type of vanished civilization. But when he has to do with political history, with conquerors and kings and statesmen, or the narrative of events which concern them, especially if these events are relatively near our own time, the geniality is likely to give place to exasperation, the friendliness to dislike, and the clear flame of his intellectual interest is often obscured or quite put out by the heavy atmosphere of a moral preoccupation. Much of the later narrative has a perfunctory ring, as if written by a man gone stale on a subject once interesting, who nevertheless feels that he has to go through with it, and who does go through with it as best he may from incomplete or incompletely assimilated knowledge. From the seventeenth century especially, Mr. Wells pushes on, hurriedly as we cannot but think; somewhat heedless of the increasing, and increasingly pointed, protests of his collaborators; of Mr. Ernest Barker particularly, who, as it were, runs along the foot-notes calling up to Mr. Wells to take care what he is about. If we sometimes feel that Mr. Wells doesn't know quite what he is about, we are left in no doubt that he knows what he likes, and what he dislikes. He dislikes many statesmen, almost all kings, and all diplomats; he dislikes patriotism, nationalism, imperialism; he dislikes Rousseau; he dislikes the classical education. In the eighth book, Mr. Wells leaves us with the distinct impression that the last two centuries provide no proper ending to the story of life and mankind; he seems, as it were, disappointed that his characters, in the earlier chapters all doing as well as could be expected, should be so perversely going to the dogs at the close.

The gathering tide of Mr. Wells's exasperation reaches the flood with Napoleon. To this central figure of modern history he devotes a chapter of which the tone and temper may be fairly judged by the following extract:

There lacked nothing to this great occasion but a noble imagination. And failing that, Napoleon could do no more than strut upon the crest of this great mountain of opportunity like a cockerel upon a dunghill. The figure he makes in history is one of almost incredible self-conceit, of vanity, greed, and cunning, of callous contempt and disregard of all who trusted him, and of a grandiose apeing of Caesar, Alexander, and Charlemagne which would be purely comic if it were not caked over with human blood. Until, as Victor Hugo said in his tremendous way, "God was bored by him", and he was kicked aside into a corner to end his days, explaining and explaining how very clever his worst blunders had been, prowling about his dismal hot island shooting birds and squabbling

meanly with an underbred gaoler who failed to show him proper "respect".<sup>6</sup>

The entire chapter is much like this—scarcely more than an angry tirade; often amusing, sometimes pat, but still a tirade. That Napoleon deserved the tirade, I do not deny; and if I note this chapter particularly it is only as a concrete instance of the effect of most of modern history upon Mr. Wells's peace of mind. Why is it that Mr. Wells maintains his equanimity so much better in dealing with certain aspects and certain periods of history than he does in dealing with other aspects and periods? Why is it that the Neanderthals irritate him less than the Romans, the "Old Man" of the tribe than the pope of the Church, the Heidelberg Sub-Man than Napoleon?

Of course it is more difficult to maintain one's equanimity in respect to a man who has left thirty-six volumes of correspondence than it is in respect to a man who has left nothing but his jaw-bone. Or perhaps Mr. Wells finds his characters less interesting as he goes on because he has taken less time and pains to find out what they thought and did, and why it seemed eminently reasonable to them to so think and do. Or it may be just that the telling of a story, of which the form is pretty rigidly determined by actions for the most part well known and often prosaic, enlists his interest and engages his powers less than the discussion of questions involving the nice use of odd bits of evidence, and giving freer play to the imaginative and constructive faculties. But fundamentally, I think, the temper which Mr. Wells brings to the consideration of different aspects and periods of history is no more than the emotional by-product of the motive which induced him to write the *Outline*, a normal expression of his interest in the past, a proper literary device, so to speak, for effectively expounding the meaning and purpose of history as he understands it.

It goes without saying that Mr. Wells is not, in the conventional sense, *objective*. (O thrice blessed anchorage of the academic mind!) He is biassed. Alas yes! He has a very special, even a personal, interest in the past. He will not take that cosmic point of view which reduced Henry Adams to the cold comfort of a mechanical formula. But then, no historian does. We all agree with Mr. Wells that the last three thousand years of human history are more worthy of our attention than the preceding three hundred and forty-seven thousand, for the simple reason that they are "*more interesting to us*".<sup>7</sup> We write history from the human

<sup>6</sup> II. 355.

<sup>7</sup> I. 15.

rather than from the cosmic point of view because, however indifferent the doings of man may be to the cosmic force of which they are the result, they are vastly interesting *to us*; and vastly important, measured by the standard of human desires, purposes, and aspirations. If the historian is to write history at all, he must be interested in these desires, purposes, and aspirations, must regard them as important in some sense or other. The most disinterested historian in the world has at least one preconception, which is that he will at all hazards have none.

But still there are different kinds of bias, different methods of "exploiting the past", different conceptions of the way in which its value for us can best be appropriated. We may be interested in the activity of man in the past as something in itself worthy to be studied for no other immediate purpose than the increase of human knowledge. From this point of view, the motives and interests that have produced wars and permitted politicians to flourish may be contemptible, but it is important to know just how these motives and interests functioned, since they are part of the record without which we cannot understand what kind of a creature man is. The historian who takes this point of view will perhaps say that whether Napoleon strikes us as a cockerel strutting on a dunghill is beside the point; what is important is to understand how, so recently as a century ago, such a dunghill could exist on the earth, or such a cockerel so long strut on it and with so much and so loud crowing lord it over the barnyard. If we could once thoroughly understand this cockerel and this dunghill, I imagine the historian to say, perhaps we could understand our own cockerels and our own dunghills, and so get rid of them. There is something to be said for the view that we do little, in the long run, to get rid of our dunghills by calling them nasty. But there is something to be said for the view that we do little to get rid of them by indulging a mere idle curiosity as to their chemical and bacteriological properties. It may be, especially in times of pressure like the present, that when the historian comes to a dunghill the best he can do is just indignantly and emphatically to call it a dunghill, just to make his readers intensely *feel* that so disgusting a thing must never again be permitted to accumulate. From this point of view, the historian is interested in the activity of man in the past, not primarily as something to be in itself intellectually apprehended, but rather as something to be practically appraised in the light of ends that are thought to be desirable and attainable in the future. This is clearly Mr. Wells's

point of view. He writes his history in order to estimate "the quality and amount and range of the hopes with which [humanity] now faces its destiny". He writes his history in the light of a definitely conceived theory of human progress.

The indispensable factor in progress, according to Mr. Wells, is intelligence—the expanding capacity of the human mind. In the prehistoric period the growth of intelligence is no more than the accidental result of the "inanimate clash of matter", or the striving of blind human instinct. In this stage, therefore, progress is just the concomitant of what man instinctively does. The Heidelberg Sub-Man contributed to progress no doubt, but without knowing it; and so Mr. Wells feels, and we do too, that it would be manifestly absurd to hold him responsible for actions done or omitted. The Heidelberg man is really too remote to arouse our ire, and we can easily contemplate his activities, we cannot but contemplate his activities, with the same detachment with which we contemplate the antics of the Triceratops. But Napoleon is not thus remote; he is sufficiently like ourselves to arouse our ire. For in the infinitely slow expansion of human intelligence there comes a time when it is a function of this intelligence to be aware of itself, to recall the past and to anticipate the future, to experience regret and to indulge in hope; in a word, to place a value on its purpose and decisions, distinguishing the better from the less good. This very awareness then becomes a factor in progress. Man not only knows that he may choose the better in place of the worse, but he forms a conception of what that better is. Progress can then be conceived as the anticipated result of deliberate human purpose; and so we find Mr. Wells, in so far as he deals with men whose actions and purposes can be determined, approving or disapproving, placing a value on the purpose or the activity, according as it is thought to have contributed to the desired and anticipated result. If Napoleon excites his ire more than others, it is because to him, more than to any other, "it was open to work out and consolidate the new order of things, to make a modern state that should become a beacon and inspiration to Europe and all the world".<sup>8</sup>

You may say, of course, that it was impossible for Napoleon to do other than he did because he was the product of his time, the inevitable result of "all the conditions". Mr. Wells seems at times, rather reluctantly, to admit this. "Perhaps," he says in a kind of aside, "that amount of mischief had to be done by some

<sup>8</sup> II. 356.

agency; perhaps his career, or some such career, was a necessary consequence of the world's mental unpreparedness for the crisis of the revolution."<sup>9</sup> If you should ask, why then grow so indignant about what had to be, if you should say that Napoleon, like the Peace at Versailles, was "the best that could be had *under all the circumstances*" of this most impossible of all possible worlds, Mr. Wells would no doubt reply that the low aims and limited vision of Napoleon and his contemporaries were an essential part of the "circumstances", and that for his part he proposes to proclaim insistently to all the world that those aims were low and that vision limited, in order that higher aims and a broader vision may make part of the "circumstances" that are to condition, as inevitably as you please, the activities of men in the future. The answer is adequate enough. Mr. Wells's indignation is as much a part of the cosmic process as Napoleon's low aims; it would therefore be unfair, and contrary to the rules of the game, especially if the game is rigidly predetermined, to accept Napoleon's low aims as necessary while objecting to Mr. Wells's indignation as undesirable.

It comes to this, that Mr. Wells is too much aware of being himself a part of the cosmic process, is too intent upon shaping and improving that process, is too much in the game, to be willing to stand, aloofly wrapped in the blanket of intellectual curiosity, on the side lines, with no other purpose than to observe the intricacies of the play as it goes by. Interested primarily in the "may bes" rather than in the "has beens", the didactic instinct more and more overcomes the scientific instinct; so much so that in the end he seems not so much sitting at the feet of history in order to learn what she has to say, as to be holding the rod over her, and somewhat threateningly pronouncing her answers quite inadequate. Don't tell me what you have done, Mr. Wells seems to be saying; let me tell you what you ought to have done, and what, depend upon it, you have got to do before you are through. As the story draws to a close he conveys the impression of telling us less about Dame History than about what is "the trouble" with her; he lectures the perverse old lady, checks up her faults, notes her stupidities, and exposes all her worst blunders as if he took a warm paternal interest in the mending of her ways. Of her preposterous conduct between 1848 and 1878, Mr. Wells tells us roundly that:

all the diplomatic fussing, posturing, and scheming, all the intrigue and

<sup>9</sup> II. 373.



bloodshed of these years, all the monstrous turmoil and waste . . . all the wonderful attitudes, deeds, and schemes of the Cavours, Bismarks, Disraelis, Bonapartes, and the like great men, might very well have been avoided altogether had Europe but had the sense to instruct a small body of ordinarily honest ethnologists, geographers, and sociologists to draw out its proper boundaries and prescribe suitable forms of government in a reasonable manner.<sup>10</sup>

Perhaps poor old History, being blinder than Justice, hasn't any sense. But Mr. Wells will accept no excuse; and the reason he is so inexorable is that he knows to a certainty what she ought to have been doing—he knows precisely what is *important* in history and what not. The importance of a man or an event is measured by what the man or event contributed to the "five-fold constructive effort" of the future. Men who contributed to this effort are the "real makers of the nineteenth century", in comparison with whom "the foreign ministers and 'statesmen' and politicians . . . were no more than a troublesome and occasionally incendiary lot of schoolboys . . . playing about and doing transitory mischief".

Obviously, the historian cannot estimate the importance of men and events in this manner, at least not with much security, unless he ventures to know what the future holds. Mr. Wells thus ventures. He has his idea of "the next stage in history", of the "world as it might be like, were men united in a common peace and justice". This idea is what inspired him to write the *Outline*; and it is this idea which gives him a standard of *values*, which enables him to say what history ought to have done and miserably failed to do; it is this idea which furnishes him with a philosophy. The Great Society of the future, in the light of which the value of all history is assessed, Mr. Wells sketches in the last book: a Federal World State, democratic in its political organization, without armies or navies, sustained by an educated consciously willing race, inspired by the religion of brotherhood, directed by critical and scientific knowledge, devoted to the exploitation of the material world for the benefit of mankind and to the joyous exploration of the unlimited possibilities of the human spirit.

Needless to say, it is not the study of history that has imposed this splendid ideal upon the mind of Mr. Wells. Like many another man he has created this refuge from despair to save his soul alive out of pessimism.

<sup>10</sup> II. 449.

War is a horrible thing, and constantly more horrible and dreadful, so that unless it is ended it will certainly end human society; social injustice, and the sight of the limited and cramped human beings it produces, torment the soul; . . . Hitherto man has been living in a slum, amidst quarrels, revenges, vanities, shames and taints, hot desires, and urgent appetites. He has scarcely tasted sweet air yet and the great freedoms of the world that science has enlarged for him.<sup>11</sup>

No, it is not the study of history, but present experience which torments the soul and makes us all wish passionately to end war and suffering, that enables Mr. Wells to see the Promised Land. The Promised Land *must* be ahead, because—otherwise it would be too horrible! In the light of his ardent hope Mr. Wells looks back over the long past of the human race, and there, sure enough, he sees the substance of the thing hoped for. By the beginning of the third century, he can see already emerging the three great ideas of science, of a universal religion of righteousness, and of a world polity.

The rest of the history of mankind is largely the history of those three ideas . . . spreading out from the minds of the rare and exceptional persons and peoples in which they first originated, into the general consciousness of the race, and giving first a new colour, then a new spirit, and then a new direction to human affairs.<sup>12</sup>

Thus upon the screen of the past Mr. Wells projects his vision of the future: all the groping efforts of the human race, all its blood and tears, are seen to mean just this; that humanity has been moving, without knowing it perhaps, with many a tedious and discouraging return upon the path, toward the Great Society which *will* come because it *must* come.

Hitherto this forward movement has been mainly a blind striving, a blind leading of the blind. What is necessary is that men should become conscious of the goal and the way that leads to it. Now it is just the supreme value of history that, by revealing the way that leads to the goal, it enables us to proceed directly and consciously toward it. Whatever in the past has increased knowledge, or instilled into the human heart the spirit of brotherhood, or promoted the establishment of a polity based upon the allegiance of consciously willing subjects, has brought us forward; ignorance and egotism and blind obedience have held us back. Christianity gave us the ideal of the brotherhood of man, and by the thirteenth century there had dawned the "first inti-

<sup>11</sup> II. 589.

<sup>12</sup> I. 409.

mation . . . of an ideal of government which is still making its way to realization".<sup>13</sup> Through ignorance and priestcraft this ideal unhappily failed. The modern world has banished priestcraft and acquired the means of knowledge that bid fair to banish ignorance. But in banishing priestcraft and acquiring knowledge it has lost its own soul, has lost sight both of the idea of a world polity and of a universal religion of righteousness. After the ideas of Roman Empire and Church lost their hold, while in "nearly every other field of human interest there was advance", in things political there was retrogression "towards merely personal monarchy and monarchist nationalism of the Macedonian type".<sup>14</sup> Gradually, therefore,

men shifted the reference of their lives from the kingdom of God and the brotherhood of mankind to these apparently more living realities, France and England, Holy Russia, Spain, Prussia. . . . In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the general population of Europe was religious and only vaguely patriotic; by the nineteenth it had become wholly patriotic. In a crowded . . . railway carriage in the later nineteenth century it would have aroused far less hostility to have jeered at God than to have jeered at one of those strange beings, England or France or Germany. . . . They were the real and living gods of Europe.<sup>15</sup>

But this relapse into a new egoism, in which we are still living, is only temporary; a thing only of the last few centuries, a "mere hour, an incidental phase, in the vast deliberate history of our kind". Sooner or later we shall pass out of it as men awake from a nightmare, and the conflicts of these days will seem to our posterity as insane as to us seem the feuds of the Blues and the Greens in the streets of Byzantium.

For a time men have relapsed upon these national or imperial gods of theirs; it is but for a time. The idea of the world state, the universal kingdom of righteousness of which every living soul shall be a citizen, was already in the world two thousand years ago never more to leave it. Men know that it is present even when they refuse to recognize it. . . . They still talk loudly of their "love" for France, of their "hatred" of Germany, of the "traditional ascendancy of Britain at sea", and so on and so on, like those who sing of their cups in spite of the steadfast onset of sobriety and a headache. These are dead gods they serve. By sea or land men want no Powers ascendant, but only law and service. That silent unavoidable challenge is in all our minds like dawn breaking slowly, shining through the shutters of a disordered room.<sup>16</sup>

Well, what shall we say? Certainly the room is disordered; the dawn may be breaking, it has often come before, and gone; but

<sup>13</sup> II. 147.

<sup>14</sup> II. 215.

<sup>15</sup> II. 246.

<sup>16</sup> II. 247-248.

those shutters—how with ineffectual fingers we still fumble at the unyielding clasps!

It may be that Mr. Wells has read the past too close to the desire of his heart. But there are worse things. We may hope at least that the future will be as he thinks. If it should turn out so, Mr. Wells's book will have been more than a history, even if it is not history; it will have been an action that has helped to make history. If it should turn out otherwise, still will the book have been a valiant deed. On November 28, 1760, Diderot wrote to Voltaire, apropos of the latter's *Essai sur les Moeurs*:

Other historians relate facts to inform us of facts. You relate them in order to excite in our hearts a profound hatred of lying, ignorance, hypocrisy, superstition, fanaticism, tyranny; and this anger remains, even after the memory of the facts has disappeared.<sup>17</sup>

As much might be said of Mr. Wells's *Outline*. Mr. Wells is not Voltaire, but his *rôle* is much the same: like Voltaire he is a versatile man of letters, with warm human sympathies, interested in all the knowledge of his day; like Voltaire he is a man of faith, who believes that men may be made more enlightened and more humane; like Voltaire he is enlisted in the war on *l'Infâme*—on hypocrisy, superstition, fanaticism, tyranny. Mr. Wells's history is a powerful weapon employed in that war. Like Voltaire's *Essai*, it is a criticism of the present in terms of the past; with all its imperfections, a notable effort to enlist the experience of mankind in the service of its destiny.

"Ah, but this is not *History*!" I hear someone exclaim. Very well, call it what you like. If you like not the term history for Mr. Wells's book, call it something else—for example, the adventures of a generous soul among catastrophes!

CARL BECKER.

<sup>17</sup> *Oeuvres Complètes* (Paris, 1881), XLIX, 79.

## GERMAN HISTORIANS AND MACEDONIAN IMPERIALISM<sup>1</sup>

IN this paper I shall limit my inquiry to a vicennium of Greek History, from 358 to 338 B.C., the critical period of Macedonian expansion under Philip II. to the hurt of the Athens of Demosthenes's day. My study is intended to probe the spirit and degree of historical accuracy which historians of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Germany have reflected in their treatment of the period under consideration. I shall endeavor to indicate, after the method of literary criticism which Sainte-Beuve first popularized, whatever of political, social, or intellectual influences may have guided the writer in the selection and exposition of his historical data. For Eduard Meyer warns us in his *Methodology* that "the time in which the historian lives is a factor which cannot be eliminated from any historical exposition; this is true as well of his individuality as of the opinions and beliefs of his time."<sup>2</sup>

A case in point is that of B. G. Niebuhr, first of German critical historians. Living through the Storm and Stress period of the French Revolution, and officially embattled in the War of Liberation against Napoleon, he had grown to be an ardent champion of liberty, whether of the individual, of the nation, or of the state. Conversely, he became possessed of bitterest hatred for the Bonapartist system—its inhumanity, its oppression of nationalities, and its militaristic imperialism. In 1805, the year of Ulm and Austerlitz, he translated into German the First Philippic of Demosthenes, drew therein a parallel between the historic rôles of Napoleon and Philip of Macedon, and dedicated the publication to Czar Alexander I. of Russia, the President Wilson of his belligerent and post-bellum age. His views concerning Philip and Demosthenes he subsequently elaborated in a course of lectures on ancient history which he delivered at the University of Bonn during the years 1825-1826 and 1829-1830.

Of these lectures an English contemporary of ours, G. P.

<sup>1</sup> This paper was read at the Cleveland meeting of the American Historical Association, December 31, 1919.

<sup>2</sup> "Zur Theorie und Methodik der Geschichte", in *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichtstheorie und zur Wirtschaftlichen und Politischen Geschichte des Altertums* (Halle a. S., 1910), p. 54.



Gooch,<sup>3</sup> has written: "no part is more suffused with his own personality than that in which he relates the collapse of Greece before the might of Macedon." Niebuhr, I take it, was in hearty sympathy with the dictum of Saint Augustine: "Remota justitia, quid sunt regna nisi magna latrocinia." Assuredly, the formation of the Macedonian state by Philip never met with his approval, for its object had inclined from the very beginning toward the subjugation of Greece, its means had been of the basest—faithless, virtueless, conscienceless.<sup>4</sup> Philip's honesty in the making and observance of treaties he impugned, his disregard for national self-determination he denounced, and his morals he branded as in the superlative degree detestable.<sup>5</sup> Niebuhr's praise of Demosthenes, however, was in inverse proportion to his censoriousness toward Philip. The tragic nature of his noble struggle, his indomitable fortitude in times of adversity, the laudable and patriotic quality of his statesmanship, alike win the historian's enthusiastic admiration.<sup>6</sup> But toward the opponents of Demosthenes he was less charitable. Traitorous conduct on the part of Aeschines he deemed probable, and judged the claim of the latter's orations to equal merit with those of the former to be as reprehensible as the assumption that the chirp of the cricket is comparable to the song of the nightingale.<sup>7</sup> Again, of Isocrates his judgment is most severe. "An extremely poor, forlorn writer", he characterizes him, "one of the most thoughtless and wretched of souls; the patriarch of all sophists and declaimers".<sup>8</sup>

But while Niebuhr was lecturing at Bonn, a younger generation of Germans, less reminiscent of the past and more concerned with the German nation of the future, sat spellbound at the feet of a master of dialectic and metaphysical abstractions, Professor Hegel of the University of Berlin. Hegel's political speculations were designed to effect German unification on the basis of a common culture, Prussian military power, and the existing monarchic and ecclesiastical order. From the *Philosophy of His-*

<sup>3</sup> *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1913), p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> B. G. Niebuhr, *Vorträge über alte Geschichte*, herausgegeben von Marcus Niebuhr (Berlin, 1847-1851), translated by L. Schmitz under title, *Lectures on Ancient History from the Earliest Times to the Taking of Alexandria by Octavianus* (Philadelphia, 1852), II. 308-309.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 308-309, 348.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 324-327.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 325, 331.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 234, 386.

tory<sup>9</sup> and the *Philosophy of Right*<sup>10</sup> one gathers that he regarded world history as the progressive revelation of reason, which may be called the *Weltgeist*<sup>11</sup>—or, to paraphrase Metternich, “l’esprit qui sert à tout et ne mène à rien.” This *Weltgeist*, he taught, revealed itself as the progressive consciousness of freedom, which he defined as the product of private and public morality (*Moralität und Sittlichkeit*).<sup>12</sup> This freedom he identified with the state, whose existence constitutes the highest right (*Recht*), and whose essence enjoins upon its members obedience to its laws and customs as their highest duty.<sup>13</sup> The world mission of such a state, envisaged inwardly as civil power and outwardly as military power, can be managed best by an hereditary monarch, whose public actions are not to be measured by the accustomed standards of private morality.<sup>14</sup> This monarch, aided by a warrior caste, which Hegel calls the “class of universality”, may on occasion become the exalted agent of the *Weltgeist*, an Alexander, a Caesar, or a Napoleon, and may compound the elements of decadence, which a protracted period of peace is apt to develop, in the purifying crucible of war.<sup>15</sup>

Such, in barest outline, was the political philosophy and philosophic history of Hegel. His lectures during the years 1826 to 1829 were attended by a young and impressionable student of philology, patriot and Prussian to the core, J. G. Droysen.<sup>16</sup> From Hegel Droysen acquired, as Lord Acton observed in his article on German Schools of History, that habit of abstract thought which he applied in the first of his historical works, the *Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen*.<sup>17</sup> The book seems to have been written under the urge of the current Prussian impulse of nationalism: the relations between the military monarchy of

<sup>9</sup> *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte*, herausgegeben von Ed. Gans, in *Hegels Werke*, Band IX. (Berlin, 1837).

<sup>10</sup> *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts oder Naturrecht und Staatswissenschaft im Grundrisse*, herausgegeben von Ed. Gans, in *Hegels Werke*, Band VIII. (Berlin, 1833).

<sup>11</sup> *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte*, pp. 12–14.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22; *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts*, p. 68.

<sup>13</sup> *Grundlinien*, pp. 69, 313; and cf. *Vorlesungen*, pp. 40–42.

<sup>14</sup> *Grundlinien*, pp. 350–351, 372–375; and *Vorlesungen*, pp. 33–36.

<sup>15</sup> *Grundlinien*, pp. 421–422, 418–420; *Vorlesungen*, pp. 31–32. Cf. the added reference to Alexander and Napoleon in the translation by J. Sibree from the third edition of Hegel's *Lectures on the Philosophy of History* (London, 1890), p. 32.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. O. Hintze, s.v. “J. G. Droysen”, in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, LXXXIV. (1904) 85–86.

<sup>17</sup> Hamburg, 1833.

Macedon and the pernicious Hellenic particularism of the past were to teach by precept and example the need for Prussian hegemony over the small, rival German states of his own day.<sup>18</sup>

The very title of Droysen's work, intended, as he tells us, not as a biography but as the history of a great man whose "personality was only the instrument of his deeds, his deeds only the impulsion of century-long influences", bears the impress of Hegelian speculation. The book was written with the conviction that *Nous* had been the guide of Clio for all time, that the rational course of history had been advanced by Alexander, the apostle of the *Weltgeist*, and that the achievements of Philip of Macedon were a salutary and necessary preparation for the world mission of his more famous son. The result was a remarkable panegyric from the pen of Droysen on Philip and things Macedonian in general, and a scathing condemnation of Hellenic politics and Demosthenic *intransigence*. Philip, to follow Droysen, was a typical product of the sophistic educational methods of his time, combining Greek with Macedonian virtues and vices: faithlessness, joy of life, bonhomie, shewdness, deception, licentiousness, and criminality.<sup>19</sup> His statesmanship, however, was beyond cavil. Out of his crude but vigorous Macedonians (racially Greeks, as proved by the Heraclid tradition of their kings) he made a nation of free, contented, and devoted masses and of unselfish, crown-serving, and culture-craving nobility, brought them all under the government of a "monarchy in the noblest sense of the word", and organized them in a truly national standing army, as an imperative measure of defense against the dangers which had beset him during the early years of his reign.<sup>20</sup> His object had never been the reduction of Greece to a state of subjection, but he had "begun and completed everything with the sole purpose of the war against Persia in view", a national task which summoned all Greeks "to the distant goal of their historical life", and one capable of being realized through the union of Greek freedom and independence with Macedonian monarchal sovereignty.<sup>21</sup> With Isocrates, Droysen deprecated the constant warfare between the atom-like city-states of Greece, attributed it to the superabundance of energy confined within the land, and sought the remedy without, namely, in the war with Persia.<sup>22</sup> Hellenic

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Hintze, *loc. cit.*, p. 88.

<sup>19</sup> Droysen, *Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen*, p. 45.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 34, 36, 41-43.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16, 33, 37.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 12, 16, 32.

freedom he regarded as a withered flower, Greek democracies he stigmatized for their ineffectiveness in accomplishing the "national task", and the immortal struggle of Athens against Macedonian Philip he judged "a conflict for impotent independence and for the tawdry finery of old-fashioned freedom".<sup>23</sup> Of Demosthenes he records that "history knows but few characters as lamentable as the great Athenian orator: he knew not his time, his people, his enemy, nor himself; his life, the irksome consequence of a fundamental mistake, produced no result other than that of making the victory of Macedon the more definitive and effective."<sup>24</sup>

Although Droysen's interpretation of the clash between Philip and Demosthenes met with but short shrift at the hands of classical philologists like Arnold Schaefer<sup>25</sup> and Friedrich Blass,<sup>26</sup> his book and viewpoint retained, according to an admission of Beloch's in 1904,<sup>27</sup> a position of unrivalled esteem among historians of Germany from the thirties to the eighties of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, Droysen's attitude toward the rival claims of Athens and Macedon, colored by the unrealities of Hegelian speculation and Prussian aspiration, has been maintained in spirit, and, with amplifications through modern research, in substance by a majority of German historians from the eighties to the present day,<sup>28</sup> but colored in this case by the realities of 1864, 1866, 1870-1871, and by contemporary colonial and commercial imperialism.

The application of the political deductions to which the inexorable logic of these events gave rise in Germany, the world has witnessed and experienced to satiety during the eventful seven years now behind us. The gist of their content can be conveniently gleaned from the pages of Bismarck's *Gedanken und Erinnerungen*, or, better still, from Heinrich von Treitschke's *Politik*, a work concerning which A. J. Balfour aptly said that it "bears somewhat the same relation to Bismarck as Machiavelli's *Prince* bears to Caesar Borgia". Grant Robertson, in a recent and highly com-

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 32.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>25</sup> *Demosthenes und seine Zeit*, second ed. (Leipzig, 1885-1887). The first edition appeared in 1856.

<sup>26</sup> *Die Attische Beredsamkeit von Gorgias bis zu Lysias*, first ed. (Leipzig, 1868-1880), second ed. (1887-1898).

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, III. 2 (Strassburg, 1904), p. 14.

<sup>28</sup> See J. Kromayer, in *Historische Zeitschrift*, C. (1908) 38: Droysen, "ein Mann, auf dessen Schultern unsere Forschung noch immer steht". Cf. also Cauer, in *Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie*, XXVIII. (1911), col. 1169.

mendable study of Bismarck, has summarized these deductions as follows:<sup>29</sup>

The unification of Germany, the establishment of a German hegemony on the Continent, the Central Europe, the armed peace imposed on and by Nationalism in arms, the defeat of Liberalism and of democratic self-government, the doctrine of the State as the representative and incarnation of Might and Force, the principle that policy is the expression of a national will for Power to which all methods are legitimate provided that they achieve their end at a minimum of cost, the gospel that war is an inevitable and necessary part of the struggle for existence, and that (in Moltke's famous words) the ideal of universal peace is a dream, and not even a beautiful dream, the principle that reason of State transcends the code of ethics, applicable in the social intercourse of individual with individual — all these and many other characteristics of the Bismarckian system and the Bismarckian interpretation of life and its values lie embedded in the period of history which Bismarck made his own for the Germany and the Europe in which he lived.

That considerations and political currents such as these affected the course of German historical scholarship has been admitted, even in Germany. In 1905 Theodor Lenschau of Berlin, writing for Bursian's *Jahresbericht*,<sup>30</sup> noted the tendency of Liberals like Grote to favor Athenian democracy in its opposition to Philip's oppressive absolutism, and observed with an evident sigh of relief that "a new generation of historians have grown up, individuals who were in their youth when Italy and Germany were forcibly united from the North, and who saw Bismarck at work—a man grown to maturity and fame by combating liberal ideas—and finally, individuals who . . . bore witness perforce to the steady decline of liberalism, which was opposed to the new idea of a national world-policy."

The writings of this new generation of historians I have undertaken to examine in so far as they deal with the period 358 to 338 B.C. My list, which I believe to be representative although not all-inclusive, comprises works of Julius Beloch, A. Holm, J. Kaerst, Eduard Meyer, Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, Pöhlmann, Kahrstedt, Kessler, Paul Wendland, C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, and E. Drerup. Of these authors all but Kaerst,<sup>31</sup> Lehmann-Haupt,<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> *Bismarck* (London, 1918), p. 488.

<sup>30</sup> "Die Altertumswissenschaft im letzten Vierteljahrhundert, Griechische Geschichte", *Bursians Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, CXXIV. (1905) 166-167.

<sup>31</sup> *Geschichte des Hellenistischen Zeitalters*, Band I. (Leipzig, 1901).

<sup>32</sup> "Griechische Geschichte bis zur Schlacht bei Chaironeia," in Gereke und Norden, *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft* (Leipzig, 1912), III. 1-120.



and, with vacillations, Wilamowitz,<sup>33</sup> agree in defaming the classicist view of Demosthenes's democratic, historic rôle, and in extolling Macedonian statesmanship for consummating the political unification of Hellas. This interpretation, fairly conventional with living German historians, one can gauge best through an analysis of the writings of the respective individuals named above.

Julius Beloch, radical, rationalist, and iconoclast, seems to have been the Grand Instaurator of Macedonian reputations—and that too, despite his professed disdain for heroes and hero-worship.<sup>34</sup> In 1884 he published *Die Attische Politik seit Perikles*, a work in which he sang the praises of Philip and Isocrates and maligned the character and politics of Demosthenes.<sup>35</sup> These views he subsequently incorporated in the second volume of his *Griechische Geschichte*,<sup>36</sup> from which I shall quote: "A statesman greater than Philip of Macedon has never sat enthroned." He succeeded in purging the Greek nation of the curse of centuries, namely, disunion—a task impossible of achievement by purely moral agencies.<sup>37</sup> "Had the allies [the Athenians, Thebans, *et al.*] conquered at Chaeronea . . . the ills of disunion would have continued . . . greater anarchy and confusion have resulted."<sup>38</sup> The transformation of Greek culture into world culture became possible only through the conquest of Asia, which Philip at the head of his Macedonian Greeks had prepared and Alexander had accomplished.<sup>39</sup> To Demosthenes Beloch's text devotes but little more space than to Isocrates. By reason of his "Lokalpatriotismus" and his republican pride Demosthenes, according to Beloch, objected to the thought of Macedonian supremacy, particularly after the Peace of Philocrates.<sup>40</sup> His aggressive actions after 346, rather than the deeds of Philip, who had observed the Treaty of Philocrates in most conscientious fashion, led directly to the disaster at Chaeronea.<sup>41</sup> In 341, unfortunately, he even appealed to the Persian king for intervention against Philip—by that course

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *Reden und Vorträge* (Berlin, 1901); "Die Griechische Literatur und Sprache", in *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, herausgegeben von P. Hinneberg, I. 8 (Leipzig, 1907); and "Staat und Gesellschaft der Griechen und Römer", *ibid.*, II. 4, 1 (Berlin, 1910).

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Lenschau, in *Bursians Jahresbericht*, CXXIV. (1905), 189-190.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 167; cf. also Lehmann-Haupt, in *Gericke und Norden. Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*, III. 124.

<sup>36</sup> Strassburg, 1897.

<sup>37</sup> Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, II. 485, 576.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 577.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 577-578.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 514.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 485, n. 5. 546-547. 550.

"everyone could see what had become of Demosthenes's fine talk about liberty and independence".<sup>42</sup> The key changes abruptly, however, when the theme is Isocrates. His *Philippus*, in which he urged Philip to lead a Greece united under his hegemony against Persia, Beloch declares "to have been read from one end to another of the Hellenic world".<sup>43</sup> It was in large measure due to Isocrates, who prepared the way just as the men of 1848 had done for German unity, that Philip succeeded in unifying Greece, and that Alexander was enabled to extend Greek civilization and pioneering effort to Asia.<sup>44</sup> Isocrates, after Chaeronea, probably wrote his Third Letter to Philip, in which he "blessed the day of his old age that had permitted him to see the dawn of the new day".<sup>45</sup>

This narrative of Beloch's, Holm characterizes in his *Greek History* as a sober estimate of the facts.<sup>46</sup> Philip of Macedon he exonerates from Theopompus's charge of deficient morals; "judged by his actions [he] was a humane sovereign, with just that amount of craft which is necessary for a statesman who wishes to carry out a great policy with a small state."<sup>47</sup> He was rough only toward his uncivilized Macedonians, but considerate toward the culture-loving Greeks; a man of his word, and of no cruel disposition.<sup>48</sup> He and his Macedonians, who were not unlike the Germans of old, succeeded in conquering the Hellenes because they understood and utilized the great principle of nationality.<sup>49</sup> He was "drawn by the disunited Greeks into their quarrels, and invited by them to play a decisive part in purely Greek affairs"; indeed, Demosthenes seems to have been the individual who brought Philip into Greece.<sup>50</sup> This Demosthenes was great as an agitator, but not as a statesman because he was not straightforward.<sup>51</sup> No reliance is to be placed in his assertions; he never understood the real character of Philip and always misrepresented him to the Athenians.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, II. 548.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 531-532.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 574.

<sup>46</sup> A. Holm, *Griechische Geschichte*, translated under title, *The History of Greece from its Commencement to the Close of the Independence of the Greek Nation*, III. (London, 1896) 220.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 288.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 285.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 205, 285-286.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 240, 278.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 243, 279.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 217, 277.

His policy amounted virtually to this: it continued the old exploitation of Greece by Persia.<sup>53</sup> In this respect the advice of Isocrates, who was foremost among high-minded men in Greece, was the better: to revive old aspirations and unite Greece by means of a war against Persia.<sup>54</sup>

The over-statement and uncritical method of Holm are of course foreign to the finished scholarship of Eduard Meyer. But he too has his *parti-pris* in the clash between Philip and Demosthenes.<sup>55</sup> Meyer's views on the period in question are contained in his articles on Alexander the Great<sup>56</sup> and on Isocrates's Second Letter to Philip,<sup>57</sup> and in fugitive passages of the fifth volume of his *History of Antiquity*.<sup>58</sup> He refers to the enthusiasm of writers like Niebuhr and Grote for ancient Hellas and its protagonist, Demosthenes, and adds:<sup>59</sup>

Our interpretation of Greek History has become a different one; the conviction has grown that the communities of Greece could never again advance through their own endeavors to an even tolerable condition of affairs, that they were certainly unable to resolve the great problems awaiting the Nation's solution, that, in particular, Athens's actual power and political organization were in crass contradiction of its aspirations, that therefore Demosthenes could never have attained to positive success.

The chief task of Philip's lifetime, Meyer continues, was to gain and maintain the mass of the Balkan Peninsula for Macedonia. "But to make this position in the North secure for all future time, and likewise to obtain for his kingdom the standing of a great culture-state, it was necessary for him as well to win supremacy over the southern extension of the Balkan Peninsula, Greece."<sup>60</sup> The Macedonian kingdom, formed by a migration of Greeks from

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 280.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 245.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Lehmann-Haupt, in Gercke und Norden, *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*, III. 124: "Im Gegensatz zu A. Schaefer, der mit zu grosser Ausschliesslichkeit den Standpunkt des Demosthenes vertritt, wird dieser aufs nachdrücklichste verurteilt von J. Beloch und ebenso von Eduard Meyer. Beide legen einen übertriebenen Nachdruck auf seine Anwaltsqualität und wittern häufiger, als nützt, Schwindeleien und Verdrehungen. . ."

<sup>56</sup> "Alexander der Grosse und die Absolute Monarchie" (Vortrag auf der Hamburger Philologenversammlung am 5. Oktober, 1905 gehalten), *Kleine Schriften* (Halle a S., 1910), p. 285 ff.

<sup>57</sup> "Isokrates' Zweiter Brief an Philipp und Demosthenes' Zweite Philippika", in *Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1909, pp. 758-779.

<sup>58</sup> *Geschichte des Altertums*, Band V., *Der Ausgang der Griechischen Geschichte* (Stuttgart, 1902).

<sup>59</sup> Ed. Meyer, "Alexander der Grosse," *Kleine Schriften*, p. 285.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 291.

Thessaly, could justly claim the right to survive as a culture-state if it put an end to the "heillose Zerrissenheit" of the Greek world, and if, instead of tolerating a disgraceful condition of Greek dependence on the powerless Persian king, it resolutely hurled its might against the foreign foe.<sup>61</sup> Athens, in seeking the aid of Persia against Philip after the Peace of Philocrates, was committing a shameful act against the national cause.<sup>62</sup> Demosthenes was, of course, to blame for this turn of affairs; he was probably in the pay of Persia, as Aeschines charged, and became the agent of the Persian king in Greece.<sup>63</sup> In his campaign against Philip in 344 he and his party "never hesitated to misrepresent the facts, to employ without scruple every method of the sophist".<sup>64</sup> His public orations were not genuinely delivered public addresses, but merely political pamphlets such as those of Isocrates.<sup>65</sup> The latter became the "real political spokesman of the nation"; his writings gave evidence of an appreciation of the actual tasks of the nation, such as writers like Xenophon and Demosthenes were unable to envisage.<sup>66</sup> In 338, after Chaeronea, he penned his indubitably genuine Third Letter to Philip, in which he hailed the victory of the Macedonian king, "because it nourished his hope that he might live to see realized the national program of Greek unification and of the great Greek war of expansion against Persia".<sup>67</sup>

Wilamowitz, however, mitigates Meyer's imperialistic strictures with some of the restraint of Blass, Schaefer, and Jebb. Although he condemns Athenian democracy of the fourth century rather vehemently, and quotes with approval the gloss written by Frederick the Great in the margin of his copy of Montesquieu's *Considérations*: "ces rois de Macédoine étaient ce qu'est un roi de Prusse . . . de nos jours", Wilamowitz, nevertheless, sounds this warning against pressing too closely the parallel between Prussians and Germans on the one hand, and between Macedonians and Greeks on the other hand: "the political and social life of the Macedonians had a basis so entirely different from that of the Greeks that Macedonia could never merge with Thebes and Athens to form a single state", and therefore "the resistance of Demosthenic Athens was a genuine tragedy, because it had to be in vain

<sup>61</sup> Ed. Meyer, "Alexander der Grosse", *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 289-292.

<sup>62</sup> "Isokrates' Zweiter Brief an Philipp", *loc. cit.*, pp. 777-778.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 778, n. 2.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 778.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 770.

<sup>66</sup> *Geschichte des Altertums*, V. 280, 337.

<sup>67</sup> "Isokrates' Zweiter Brief an Philipp", *loc. cit.*, p. 766, n. 1.

and because it was waged against the eternal and unmerciful law of history—but it was a fight for a good cause, namely, the honor of the Fatherland.”<sup>68</sup> But with all that, Greece needed a master for its self-preservation, otherwise Greece as Ionia would have come under the domination of Persia.<sup>69</sup> Demosthenes, whose short-sighted fanaticism regarded Philip as nothing but a tyrant, and whose oratory together with that of his school has encompassed the decline of the Athenian state with such an aureole “that posterity has completely deranged the relative positions of Macedonia and Athens as to power and right”, is, notwithstanding, entitled to this meed of praise: “he believed in the greatness of Athens and of Democracy, and lived and died for his ideal”.<sup>70</sup> But of Isocrates Wilamowitz makes the criticism that he lacked breadth of political vision in continuously harping on the theme of the good old days of Solon; he was the master of the new muse, Rhetoric, which henceforth made its venal charms available for every powerful individual; his writings belong to the class of *genre ennuyeux*.<sup>71</sup>

Pöhlmann deals with our period in his *Outlines of Greek History*,<sup>72</sup> which forms a part of Müller's *Handbuch*, and in a contribution to the Bavarian Academy's *Sitzungsberichte* for 1913 on Isocrates and the Problem of Democracy.<sup>73</sup> Pöhlmann, in general, shares the viewpoint of Eduard Meyer. He writes of the time of Philip: “the city-state had lost its right to exist”; “it had to yield to the policy of broad vistas, if the economic, moral, and intellectual forces which the nation still retained, were to serve in advancing civilization to a greater degree.”<sup>74</sup> Chaeronea decided the victory of the *Flächenstaat* over the *Polis*, the victory of monarchy over democracy.<sup>75</sup> Demosthenes's view of democracy was a doctrinaire and unhistorical one.<sup>76</sup> Isocrates judged more

<sup>68</sup> Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, “Basilea” (1886), in *Reden und Vorträge* (Berlin, 1901), pp. 72–74.

<sup>69</sup> *Id.*, *Staat und Gesellschaft der Griechen*, p. 137.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 136–137; *id.*, *Die Griechische Literatur und Sprache*, pp. 72–73, 75.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 68–69; *Staat und Gesellschaft*, pp. 135, 137.

<sup>72</sup> *Grundriss der Griechischen Geschichte nebst Quellenkunde* (Munich, 1909), in Müller's *Handbuch der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, III, 4.

<sup>73</sup> “Isokrates und das Problem der Demokratie”, *Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, phil.-hist. Klasse, 1913, pp. 3–171.

<sup>74</sup> Pöhlmann, *Grundriss*, pp. 230–231.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 231.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 241. Cf. the entire passage, pp. 240–241: “Für Demosthenes und die demokratische Zeitschauung überhaupt ist der demokratische Volks-

correctly in anticipating a favorable turn of the national fortune only by the aid of monarchy.<sup>77</sup> In fact, he is also an excellent authority to cite against the evils of democracy: his works yield abundant texts to be applied to the pernicious workings of American democracy with its party machines, its bosses, and its "Stimmvieh", of British politics, and of the impractical government planned by the Social-Democrats of Germany.<sup>78</sup>

The writings of Kahrstedt and Kessler can be conveniently paired. They were novitiate performances:—the one, on the *Politics of Demosthenes*,<sup>79</sup> by a pupil of Eduard Meyer; the other, on *Isocrates and the Panhellenic Idea*,<sup>80</sup> by a pupil of E. Drerup. The thesis of Kahrstedt is an expansion of E. Meyer's conclusions on the baneful influence and activities of Persia in Greek and particularly in Athenian affairs. The reputation of Demosthenes Kahrstedt adorns with many of Bismarck's diplomatic wiles. He was a clever statesman, but his Olynthiacs demonstrate his lack of idealism and even of Hellenic patriotism.<sup>81</sup> "I have attempted to prove", wrote Kahrstedt, "that Demosthenes worked for Persia; to establish this proof, I described the connection of political events and asked myself the question, who reaped the advantage from the proposals which Demosthenes offered in every particular situation. . . . The answer was ever the same, namely, Persia."<sup>82</sup> The many orations of Demosthenes, especially that on the Naval Boards, the Megalopolitan, the Aristocratea, the Rhodian, the Olynthiacs, and the Philippics, betray the same zeal for Persian power, at times even to the exclusion of Athenian interests.<sup>83</sup> On

staat der Rechtsstaat *κατ' ἔξοχον*, der einzige wahre Staat, weil in der Demokratie allein das Gesetz herrsche oder herrschen solle. In allen anderen Staaten ist der persönliche Wille eines oder weniger Individuen stärker als das Gesetz, mag es nun . . . die Oligarchie sein oder die Monarchie. . . . Dass diese Grundanschauung der Demokratie und ihres grossen Führers eine doktrinaire und ungeschichtliche war, wer wollte dies verkennen?"

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 237.

<sup>78</sup> *Id.*, "Isokrates und das Problem der Demokratie", *loc. cit.*, pp. 9, 10, 13. n. 1, 41, 42, 86, 138–140, 159, 162, n. 1. On Athenian and present-day democracy Pöhlmann (*ibid.*, pp. 38–39) writes: "Als ob nicht gerade diese Demokratie . . . dadurch dass sie Politik und Rechtsprechung zu Massenaktionen macht, die schlimmsten Instinkte in der Menschenbrust entfesselte!"

<sup>79</sup> U. Kahrstedt, "Die Politik des Demosthenes", *Forschungen zur Geschichte des ausgehenden Fünften und des Vierten Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1910), pp. 1–154.

<sup>80</sup> J. Kessler, *Isokrates und die Panhellenische Idee*, (Paderborn, 1911).

<sup>81</sup> Kahrstedt, *op. cit.*, pp. 125–126, 128.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 98, 102–103, 111–112, 114–115, 122, 125–126, 140–141.

Kahrstedt's view of the relations between Demosthenes and the Persian king, G. Glotz coined the epigram: "Démosthènes n'est pas devenu partisan d'Artaxerxès par haine de Philippe, mais ennemi de Philippe par amour pour Artaxerxès."<sup>84</sup>

Kessler reveals Isocrates to us as an able thinker and far-seeing *Realpolitiker*, whose activities as publicist were consistently devoted to the task of propagandizing the Panhellenic idea for the national unification which Greece so sorely needed.<sup>85</sup> This idea, often contrary to accepted opinion and to the literal interpretation of frequent passages, can, by a procedure not unlike the tropological and allegorizing methods of medieval theologians, be laid bare in Isocrates's important orations, the *Panegyricus*, *On the Peace*, the *Philippus*, and the *Panathenaiscus*.<sup>86</sup>

Paul Wendland, needless to say, uncovers but few of the "howlers" of Kahrstedt and Kessler. He has contributed two scholarly articles to the *Göttingen Nachrichten* for 1910; the first on King Philip and Isocrates,<sup>87</sup> the second on Isocrates and Demosthenes.<sup>88</sup> In 1913 he summarized and popularized his investigations for the history-reading public of *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*.<sup>89</sup> He wrote therein:

It is now common knowledge how Philip consolidated his state, kept his dangerous northern neighbors in their proper territorial limits, created a citizen army of his people and an officers' corps of the nobility. . . . The temperate and careful nature of Philip's dealings with the Athenian Demos shows that he pursued no ruthless policy of aggrandizement. He fought for the necessary establishment and preservation of his state, for the essential interests of his nation. . . . This clash [between Athens and Macedon] of just interests serves admirably the purpose of training one in political thinking, helps to guard one against the influence of trivial talk about morality and politics, and makes one realize that such a conflict cannot be settled by international arbitration. It should be pointed out that Demosthenes was actuated in his condemnation of the enemy by motives of patriotic hate. Furthermore, one should strongly emphasize the superior merits of a thorough system of monarchical government and of military discipline.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>84</sup> Cf. *Revue Historique*, CVIII. (1911) 108.

<sup>85</sup> Kessler, *op. cit.*, pp. 6, 80.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 20, 27-28, 47, 52, 57, 66-67, 70.

<sup>87</sup> "Beiträge zu athenischer Politik und Publicistik des vierten Jahrhunderts, I., König Philippos und Isokrates", in *Nachrichten von der Kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Klasse, 1910, pp. 123-182.

<sup>88</sup> "Beiträge zu Athenischer Politik und Publicistik des vierten Jahrhunderts, II., Isokrates und Demosthenes", *loc. cit.*, 1910, pp. 289-323.

<sup>89</sup> P. Wendland, "Demosthenes im Unterricht des Gymnasiums", in *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, III. (1913).

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 77-79.



Toward the end of 1917 E. Drerup, authority on Homer and Isocratean Letters, published a book with the title: *From the Days of an Ancient Lawyers'-Republic; Demosthenes and his Time*.<sup>91</sup> The book has not come to my hand, but the *London Classical Review* prints an excerpt from the preface which is worth quoting:

But only through this mighty war, into which half the world was precipitated by the rancor and lies of Paris and London lawyer-politicians, has the mask been fully torn from the face of that chauvinistic demagogue [Demosthenes], who now appears to have been a worthy predecessor, and with the sympathetic views, of Asquith and Lloyd George, of Poincaré and Briand, of Venizelos and Ionescu, not to speak of the classic Land of Broken Faith. He who studies the orations of Demosthenes as contemporary documents in the light of the World War, who remains undeceived by their emotional appeal, and who measures the attainments of Demosthenes as politician and leader of the lawyers' party, and not according to Demosthenes' own self-righteous estimates, will soon discover him to be the master of the tuneful phrase, who knew, as Asquith, how to conceal his lack of fruitful political ideas and the unscrupulousness of his political methods.<sup>92</sup>

The preceding quotations will, I venture to affirm, establish beyond reasonable doubt the conviction that the studies of even the foremost of German historians on the period of Greek history from 358 to 338 B.C. are in crying need of revision. Such a rewriting would dwell on the virtues as well as the vices of fourth-century Athenian democracy—its unrivalled training for citizenship, its increasingly anti-militaristic thought and action, its genuine enforcement of the principle of "open covenants, openly arrived at"; it would compromise less with the spirit of chauvinistic nationalism, the impulse of which is decidedly modern and certainly not Philippian; it would recognize in the aggressive tactics of Philip of Macedon the chief element disturbing to the peace of the Hellenic world; it would, on the basis of the scholarly linguistic researches of Hoffman, Pedrizet, Kretschmer, and others, suspend judgment on the problem of the racial affinities of Macedonians and Greeks; it would give Demosthenes due credit for his loyalty to the democratic ideal, for the generally defensive nature of his conflict with Philip, for his tenacious struggle to preserve the independent and continued existence of the city-state form of government, which alone had made possible Athenian cultural progress to his own day; it would never give credence to the view—designed to weaken documentary credibility—that Demosthenes's or-

<sup>91</sup> E. Drerup, *Aus einer alten Advokatenrepublik; Demosthenes und seine Zeit* (1917).

<sup>92</sup> Cf. W. E. Pantin, in the *Classical Review*, XXXII. (1918) 122-123.

ations were mere political pamphlets, not delivered addresses; it would in all charity observe that Persia had ceased to be a great aggressive power which threatened to conquer the Hellenic peninsula, but was intent only on holding its own; and finally, it would interpret the orations of Isocrates from a philo-Athenian rather than a philo-Macedonian point of view, for that he was a good patriot, I am convinced.

Should I attempt to elaborate a coda for my recurring theme, it would be this: that, although the present generation of German historians have interpreted the story of the clash between Philip of Macedon and Demosthenes in the light of contemporary nationalistic and imperialistic thought, theirs was not the only sin against the Holy Ghost. The historical literature of even the greatest of our modern democracies—Great Britain, France, and the United States—has suffered somewhat from the taint of contemporaneous commercial and colonial imperialism. I would suggest a perusal, with this thought in mind, of the relevant sections of Cavaignac's recent *Histoire de l'Antiquité*, of Wheeler's *Alexander the Great*, and of Breasted's *Ancient Times*. Furthermore, the same decade of British imperial history (1895-1905) which witnessed the publication of Lecky's undemocratic volumes on *Democracy and Liberty* also received from the press the unsympathetic study of Hogarth on *Philip and Alexander of Macedon* and, for our period, the equally uncharitable *History of Greece* by Bury.

JOHN R. KNIPPING.

## THE LIFE OF DISRAELI, V., VI.<sup>1</sup>

THE two concluding volumes of Disraeli's life which have now been published complete one of the longest and most interesting biographies that has appeared in our language during the last hundred years. On whatever side he is regarded, Disraeli is as singular and indeed as unique and extraordinary a figure as English history presents, a man who, beginning as a Jewish adventurer, and incurring in some quarters dislike, in other quarters contempt, by the escapades of his earlier career, rose to the leadership of what was then still the aristocratic party in what was then still an aristocratic country, and ended by becoming, once in 1868 and again in 1874, Prime Minister. His personal character is a subject for enquiry hardly less curious than is his political career. It is however only with the latter that this Review is concerned, so we may pass by the revelations of his private life and personal tastes which this biography contains, to consider his career in the three aspects in which his action had political consequences and provides lessons which political history ought to note and record.

First, of his career as a personal success. It illustrates two significant propositions, one at least of which is apt to receive less attention than it deserves, *viz.*, the immense difference to the course of events made by what we call Chance, *i. e.*, that factor in human affairs which we cannot predict nor account for. In this instance what chance did was to create a free field for Disraeli's rise to power by withdrawing from that field all the men who could otherwise have competed with him for the leadership of the Tory party, and some at least of whom had prospects brighter than were his. The great schism in the Conservative party when four-fifths of it refused to follow Sir Robert Peel's free-trade policy carried out of it Gladstone and three other statesmen of great ability, Sir James Graham, Sydney Herbert, and Cardwell, and none of them ever returned to the Tory fold. Of the two most prominent and energetic leaders who remained, one, Lord George Bentinck, died suddenly in the prime of life; the other, Lord Derby, sat in the House of Lords. No member of the party fit to lead the Con-

<sup>1</sup> *The Life of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield*, by George Earle Buckle in succession to W. F. Monypenny. Volumes V. and VI. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1920, pp. xii, 558; 712. \$6.00.)

servatives in the Commons was left except Disraeli. Lord Derby, brilliant as a speaker, was lazy, and apt to be bored by the details of politics, so he, while remaining titular leader till 1867, allowed nearly everything to be dealt with by Disraeli as leader in the Commons. The other lesson of Disraeli's life is the immense power of courage, industry, perseverance, and self-reliance. These qualities covered all the drawbacks that told against Disraeli's success; and made his followers lenient to faults which would have submerged less strenuous men, faults which included an unscrupulousness and untruthfulness rare in that generation of English statesmen.

The second question which history asks regarding Disraeli's part in politics is that by which politicians are in the long run most adequately judged. What did he do for England? His opportunities for administrative work were slender, as he had held no office, until he became Prime Minister, except that of Chancellor of the Exchequer (finance minister), and that post only for very short periods. But he had at one time or another much patronage to dispense, and in dispensing it set no good example, for he seems to have usually thought first of politics and afterwards of merit. That practice had formerly been common enough in England among both Whigs and Tories, but in the days of Peel and John Russell things were improving, and a stronger sense of responsibility for selecting the best men, irrespective of party affiliations, was growing up. That sense Disraeli did not share. With him it was politics "first, last, and all the time". His letters about preferments to bishoprics and deaneries in the Church of England are not edifying reading. He attached far more political importance to ecclesiastical appointments than they have now, and, I venture to believe, overestimated their serviceability for party purposes even in his own time. As respects legislation, his only title to fame lies in the passing of the Reform Act of 1867-1868, by which the suffrage was extended in the English boroughs to an extent which went further than the Liberals, led by John Russell and Gladstone, had proposed to go in 1866. Disraeli deserves great credit for having perceived that the admission to the electoral franchise of the working-men in the towns need not injure his party. The result justified his foresight, yet not immediately. He was beaten at the general election of 1868, but after six years of a Liberal government (1868 to 1874) the Tories obtained a majority. They did so again in 1886, after the question of Home Rule for Ireland had divided the Liberal party, and again in 1895 and

1900. But though Disraeli had in his earlier days indicated various topics, including reforms in Ireland, on which legislation was needed, he did very little at the height of his power between 1874 and 1880 to carry out any of these, partly perhaps because he was then old and sickly, partly because foreign politics absorbed all his faculties. He is not remembered in England as a constructive statesman.

It is in the third aspect of his career, that of foreign affairs, that he finds a place in world history. In those affairs he had always been keenly interested, for they appealed not only to his imagination, but also to his vanity, as opening to him opportunities for playing a part in the great theatre of Europe. The views he held about foreign policy were formed early in life and little changed thereafter. He had read a good deal of history, and gathered from it certain definite ideas or principles which remained with him as fixed principles or maxims, sometimes erroneous, and very little modified by events, for having ceased to travel abroad he had failed to comprehend how much the emergence of new forces, economic and intellectual, had made the Europe of 1875 different from the Europe of 1845. He had no more sympathy with either the love of liberty or the sentiment of nationality than had Metternich, showed no good-will to the Italians in their struggles against Austria and their domestic tyrants, and deplored the extinction of the temporal power of the pope in 1870. He was, like most cynics, a worshipper of power and relied on material force to the disparagement of those other means by which order and peace may be maintained within a state or between other states. He had imagination and brilliant literary gifts, as his novels show, and a faith in certain ideas or doctrines, doctrines which when pushed to extremes distorted his vision of facts. In early life he had wandered through the Near East and seems to have contracted there an aversion for the Christian subjects of Turkey which helped to make him insensible to the miseries and oppressions they suffered at the hands of their Turkish rulers.

These influences must be allowed for in judging the course he pursued in the momentous years 1875 to 1880, for through that quinquennium his fixed views and strenuous will governed the foreign policy of England. These were also the last years in which his action counted for anything, since he lost office when defeated at the polls in 1880, and died in April, 1881. An insurrection against the Turks in Herzegovina in 1875 and a subsequent attack by the Serbians on Turkey were followed in 1876 by an attempted

rising of the Bulgarian Christians in Thrace against their Turkish oppressors. This movement was suppressed by the Turks with circumstances of atrocious cruelty in which many thousands of innocent persons who had taken no part in the rising were slaughtered. Massacre is the expedient to which the Turks always resort; their limited intelligence, incapable of reforming their administration, flies at once to bloodshed. When the facts became known in Russia, they aroused passionate indignation, and the Czar Alexander II., found himself obliged to take strong diplomatic action against the Turkish government, insisting on concessions which, while deemed necessary for the protection of the Christian populations, would have materially reduced the authority of the Turks over them. Austria and Germany, who had already joined with Russia in remonstrances and demands addressed to the Turks, invited England to concur. Disraeli held this to be derogatory to the dignity and rights of England, which was no less interested than the three continental powers in the fate of the East, and he refused to concur. Meantime the news of the Bulgarian massacres had reached England and stirred indignation there, which grew hotter when Gladstone took the field and advocated the complete liberation of the Bulgarians from a government which had forfeited whatever legal rights it had over them. The Turks were obdurate, and Russia threatened war. Disraeli insisted, and carried his sometimes rather reluctant cabinet with him in insisting that Russia must under no circumstances be allowed to occupy Constantinople, her possession of which would be—so he argued—a danger to England and especially to English rule in India. An attempt made to adjust matters by a diplomatic conference at Constantinople failed, owing to the obstinacy of the sultan. Russia declared war, and after more than a year's fighting dictated to the Turks, under the walls of Constantinople, a peace embodied in the Treaty of San Stefano.

Public opinion in England was by this time thoroughly roused, hotter on both sides of the question than it had been since the American Civil War, twelve years before. Disraeli seems, from the letters given in this biography, to have honestly believed that the victory of Russia would be a heavy blow to the position of England in the world. Though himself of foreign origin, and in a certain sense always a foreigner, he outdid most native Englishmen in his Oriental flattery and glorification of English power and prestige, and so became the creator of that school of imperialism, or, more colloquially, "jingoism", which remained a potent factor

for thirty years after his death. He did not venture to urge his colleagues into hostilities when Russia declared war, because he and they realized how unwilling Englishmen would be to fight with Turks as their allies; but now when he feared that Russia would occupy and dominate the East from Constantinople he redoubled his efforts to stop her advance. At last, his menacing attitude having alarmed the Russian government, which was not prepared for another war, their resources having been already overtaxed, it was agreed that the Treaty of San Stefano should be submitted to a congress of the Great Powers. Such a congress was accordingly held at Berlin under the presidency of Bismarck in the summer of 1878. Before it met, Disraeli and his Foreign Secretary, Lord Salisbury (who had shortly before succeeded to that office on the resignation of Lord Derby, who disapproved of Disraeli's policy), concluded two secret agreements. One was with the Turks. By it England undertook to guarantee the defense of the Turkish provinces in northern Asia Minor, and received in return the control and administration of Cyprus as a "place of arms" from which that defense might be conducted, the Turks promising to reform their administration. The other convention was made with the Russians, and by it they agreed to modifications of the Treaty of San Stefano restoring to the sultan large districts in Thrace and Macedonia which that treaty had allotted to the new principality of Bulgaria. These secret arrangements settled in advance the most controversial and difficult questions which were to come before the congress, so its success was almost assured. Not a few points, however, remained for discussion and negotiation, and in settling these Disraeli, who had gone to Berlin as chief British plenipotentiary, showed both adroitness and firmness. He knew what he wanted; he played for it and he got it. He established excellent relations with Bismarck, who recognized in him an audacity and resolution resembling his own. "The old Jew," said the Chancellor, "that is the man!" He was, with Bismarck, the leading figure in the most important international gathering Europe had seen since the Congress of Vienna, and he divided with the Man of Blood and Iron the honors of the hour, having indeed a more difficult part to play as one of the contending parties than that which fell to the president of the congress, whose interest in the matter was far less keen, since German interests were little affected. It was the proudest moment of Disraeli's life. When he returned to England he was welcomed by enthusiastic crowds; and his policy, though attacked by the Liberal opposition, was approved



not perhaps by the bulk of the nation, but certainly by large majorities in both Houses of Parliament.

His biographer, who throughout the book displays a thorough-going admiration for his hero and all his hero did, natural in a political partizan speaking at the moment, but surprising in a historian narrating events in cold blood after the lapse of forty years, becomes effusive in his description of these triumphs. If we look only at the talent and the force which Disraeli showed, the admiration is justified. What he meant to do he did effectively. But was it the right thing to do? Did the settlement he effected last? What were its results for the countries concerned and for the world?

Taking first the European settlement, that branch of it which concerned the Eastern part of the Bulgarian regions (to which the Treaty of Berlin gave the name of Eastern Rumelia), the settlement lasted just seven years. In 1885 the artificial and indefensible separation of two parts of the same people was removed, and "Eastern Rumelia" became, with universal approval, a part of Bulgaria. Disraeli's arrangements had no basis, and vanished. But far worse was the fate of those regions north of the Aegean Sea, inhabited by a predominantly Bulgarian population, which the Treaty of Berlin handed back to the sultan, from whose rule the Treaty of San Stefano had delivered them. The provision made for a scheme which should give some protection to the Christian inhabitants was never carried out. Misgovernment and oppression continued, as every one with experience of the Turks knew that they were sure to continue. After a time risings and disturbances appeared. The Bulgarian population of Macedonia was in a state of continued unrest. The insurgent bands which carried on what was a sort of guerrilla warfare against the Turks roused the antagonism of Serbs and Greeks, who, expecting the expulsion of the Turks sooner or later, raised other armed bands to assert their claims in Macedonia in opposition to the Bulgars. The Turkish authorities, unable to cope with these disorders, did their best to set each race against the others. After some thirty years of these troubles, inflicting endless suffering on the peaceful part of the population, a league of the three Christian kingdoms, Greeks, Serbs, and Bulgars, was brought about, largely by the instrumentality of an able Englishman (the late Mr. J. D. Bourchier), Balkan correspondent of the *London Times*; and the three nations joined (1912) in an attack on the Turks which drove the latter out of the whole peninsula, except a small district near Constanti-

nople. Unhappily there followed a dispute between the three allies over the liberated territories, and another war broke out (in 1913) between them, as a result of which the Turks recovered a part of what Bulgaria had obtained in 1912 and Bulgaria lost southern Macedonia with its Bulgar population. All this long-continued strife, all these miseries, were directly due to Disraeli's perverse action at Berlin when he insisted, in the name of "British interests", on restoring to the Turks territories which were not Turkish by race or religion and to which they had, by their abominable misgovernment, lost all moral claim. Nor did the train of evil consequences stop there. The Treaty of San Stefano, forced by Russia upon the Turkish government, which Disraeli succeeded in getting abrogated at Berlin, had made a territorial settlement of Southeastern Europe which was, broadly speaking, conformable to the racial, the linguistic, and the ecclesiastical conditions of the problem. Austria having obtained at Berlin what she wanted, *viz.*, a commission from the congress to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina, was fairly content, and there was no question then left open to encourage the further ambitions which she subsequently developed and which accentuated her rivalry with Russia. It was the unstable, because unjust and indefensible, state of things due to the Treaty of Berlin that not only subjected the population of Macedonia and Thrace to Turkish tyranny for more than thirty years, but also helped to bring about the Great War of 1914, and all those consequences of that war from which the world is still suffering.

If we turn to the results in Asia of what Disraeli secured at Berlin they will prove to have been no less disastrous. By the Treaty of San Stefano the sultan had ceded some territory in Armenia to Russia, and had given Russia the right to interfere at any time for the protection of the Asiatic Christians under Turkish rule. This right, which made the Czar, whose territory adjoined the parts of Asiatic Turkey inhabited by the Armenians, responsible, in the eyes of his own people and of the world, for the safety from massacre of the Eastern Christians, was taken from Russia by the Treaty of Berlin, which substituted a provision enabling the powers who were parties to the latter treaty to require the Turks to execute reforms and to supervise their application. Everybody who knew anything of Turkish history knew perfectly well that administrative reforms—which the sultans had been promising for many a year—would never be executed, and that the Great Powers, among whom this shadowy responsibility was divided, would

never compel their execution. This was exactly what happened. Turkish oppression grew to be worse than ever, and culminated in the frightful massacres of 1894, 1895, and 1896, when more than 100,000 innocent persons were slaughtered. Nothing was done to stop the slaughter. England alone had tried from time to time to put pressure on the Turks to better their ways, but as she received no support from the other signatories of the Treaty of Berlin, her intervention may possibly have done more harm than good, for it did not frighten Abdul Hamid, so long as no other power joined England,—and it may have led that suspicious and resentful savage to the conclusion, which he tried to put in practice in 1895, that the best way to get rid of the Armenian question was to get rid of the Armenians themselves.

The Cyprus Convention which was proclaimed in 1878 to have been a master-stroke of Disraeli's policy turned out a complete fiasco. Some British military consuls were appointed to posts in Armenia, and for a time they travelled about trying to give some protection to the Christians from the ferocities and oppressions of the Turkish officials and from the raids of the robber Kurds whom the Turks were constantly hounding on to attack and rob the Christians. But their attempts were unavailing, for the Turks refused to mend their ways: so after a few years the consuls were withdrawn in despair, and England's obligation to defend the frontiers of Turkey was tacitly understood to have lapsed, because the Turks never attempted the promised reforms. Whether the convention entitled England to continue to hold Cyprus was a question never formally raised. That island, though it continued to be administered by England, did not prove to be of value to her either as a "place of arms" or otherwise. It might have been of value, not indeed for defending Turkey, but for attacking her when she declared war against England in 1914; but it was not used for that purpose.

Whoever reads the history of Disraeli's action in Near Eastern affairs from 1875 to 1880, told very fully and clearly in this book, and then proceeds to follow out the melancholy consequences which followed from it will naturally ask: How came a man of so much talent and experience to make such deplorable mistakes, and how came a large section of the English people to applaud a series of acts which were to tarnish England's good name by committing her to the support of a detestable tyranny and by injuring those whom the English people would have desired to protect? There are some persons who, like Disraeli's worshipping biographer, still

try to excuse or palliate Disraeli's policy and conduct. One can account for his conduct, one can recognize the cleverness and boldness with which he played his game against Russia. But the aims were hopelessly wrong, and he ought to have known that they were wrong. About the results there can be no question. The facts as they developed themselves in Europe and Asia from 1878 to 1914 speak for themselves. It was Disraeli's successor in the leadership of Disraeli's party who said, long afterwards, in speaking of the policy which British statesmen followed in the Crimean War and down to and even after 1878, in supporting the Turks, "We put our money on the wrong horse."

The explanation of Disraeli's errors seems to lie in certain facts, conjectured at the time, but rendered clearer by the correspondence which sees the light in this book, facts which may be summarized as follows. He was possessed, or obsessed, by certain notions which he had formed long before and had never brought himself to examine and correct in the light of facts. His conservative instincts made him cling to things as they had stood when he first saw them, and fail to realize the changes which had made existing conditions indefensible. Gladstone once said of him to me, in or about 1876, "Disraeli's two leading ideas in foreign policy have always been the maintenance of the sultan at Constantinople and the maintenance of the temporal power of the pope." He could not save the latter, which fell in 1870; he sought to save the former. His aversion to sentimentalism, his sense of the danger of popular enthusiasms, made him dislike the sympathy shown in England for the oppressed Christians of the East, and filled him with dread of the plots which, as he believed, were being planned by revolutionary societies against the sultan, though the Russian agitation over the Bulgarian massacres, and of course the English agitation also, were open-air and entirely natural. Though often kindly toward individuals—there is abundant proof of this in his letters—he was a cynic who indulged, and enjoyed, his cynicism. He was ignorant, though perhaps no more ignorant than many other statesmen in his day, of things he ought to have known, overestimating the aggressive power of Russia and the dangers to England of her advance southward, though the campaign of 1877 had proved the truth of Moltke's dictum that a war between Russians and Turks was a war between the one-eyed and the blind. Every war has shown that however great the difficulties Russia offers to an invading army, corruption and maladministration immensely reduce her offensive power. Still more

did he err in supposing it possible to induce the Turks to reform their government so as to make it even tolerable to its Christian subjects. Here, if he did not deliberately shut his eyes to facts, he showed a culpable ignorance, for the evidence of Turkish irreclaimability had been accumulating for centuries. He had so often heard such words as justice, humanity, liberty, nationality, used or misused by those whom, often quite unjustly, he deemed demagogues or charlatans, that he suspected every cause on whose behalf those words were employed. The mistakes he committed from 1875 to 1880 were remarkable in this respect, that they extended to a matter on which he was usually shrewdly penetrating, *viz.*, the feelings of the British people, for he seems to have believed that the diplomatic triumphs he achieved at Berlin had won their sympathy and approval, and he was not undeceived until the general election of 1880, when a crushing majority of the electorate was recorded against his foreign policy in its spirit, as well as in its details.

This defeat was no doubt partly due to the Afghan war in which his government embarked in the end of 1878; but the general political issues involved in that war so much resembled those which he had dealt with in the Near East during the three preceding years that the judgment of the country was delivered on both together and for much the same reasons. It was a condemnation of the sort of imperialism he had been preaching and practising. The frontier questions relating to Afghanistan were ultimately settled not by him but by the Liberal government which succeeded him, and they need not be discussed here. Enough to say that the policy of advance which he favored was by them reversed, and that things have gone better on the northwest frontier of India ever since.

American students of the British Constitution who read the long series of letters which passed between Disraeli and Queen Victoria during his two administrations may be struck by the number and the urgency of the appeals she made to him to take the action she desired in public affairs. Such readers must however note and remember that there is nothing to show that these appeals had any influence on the action which the cabinet took. Disraeli was of her mind, as she was of Disraeli's mind, all through the various phases of the Eastern question. She wished him to go further and faster than he did go, for his colleagues sometimes applied the brake, but he would apparently have gladly gone both farther and faster if he could have carried his cabinet with him. He certainly did flatter her outrageously, but this was not so much

interested adulation as an imaginative dramatization of the sovereign and himself as figures on the great stage of Britain. When he had a decided view of his own which was not hers, he could hold his own, and she gave way. Nobody in England has now any fear of interference on the part of the crown; for the conduct both of the last sovereign, Edward VII., and of the present sovereign is understood to have been irreproachably constitutional in every respect, and has never elicited popular criticism. The belief, at one time general in Germany, that Edward VII. was the author of the so-called "encircling policy" (*Einkreisungspolitik*) had no foundation. King Edward was fond of the French, but not the malicious enemy of Germany which he was in that country deemed to be.

Disraeli was one of the last among English statesmen who made their reputation and kept their power entirely by work in Parliament, with little recourse to the platform. Though he was far indeed from being the oracle of wisdom which the rank and file of his party deemed him in his later years, though many British statesmen have risen high above him both in range of knowledge and in oratory, he has been seldom equalled and perhaps never surpassed in his sarcastic wit, in skill as a parliamentary tactician, and, in his later years, in the power of inspiring confidence in his leadership. This confidence was largely due to his imperturbable coolness and to his courage. No braver or more self-confident man ever faced a legislative assembly; and though he was sometimes vindictive, and often untruthful, he was never treacherous, never unfaithful to a friend or neglectful of a supporter. No one can help admiring the fortitude with which he faced ill-health and pain; no one can refuse to feel for him when after his wife's death he turned for sympathy to the ladies whose names meet us so often in the record of his later years.

Mr. Buckle has done his work as a biographer with laudable industry and care. The notes are very helpful, the index is a model, the narrative passages interspersed between the letters are clear and concise. The personal and political bias of his comments is regrettable, but though they affect its value as a historical record to the general reader, every American student will soon discover and will thereafter allow for it. Long as is this biography, there is not a chapter in the last two volumes that could be spared, for they are full of instruction not only to the historian but to the student of politics as an art or a science. Disraeli made in his personal career, as well as by his acts, a contribution of enduring interest to our knowledge of human nature.

BRYCE.

## THE AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION IN NEW ENGLAND<sup>1</sup>

THE half-century before the Civil War was, for the farmers of southern New England, a period of great stress. For two or three generations they had been engaged in well-stabilized, self-sufficient agriculture. Then came the development of New England manufactures and the rise of new factory villages and towns which, by creating a new demand for food-stuffs and raw materials, opened a market at the farmers' very doors. Because of the inherent inflexibility of the agricultural industry, the first steps in the transition to commercial agriculture were slow. For a great many reasons it was difficult to leave off farming for a living and begin farming for profit. By 1840 the change was well under way. But just then the building of railroads so cheapened transportation that the New England farmers were exposed to disastrous competition in certain lines from the newer farms in western New York state, and in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. A reconsideration of his economic problems was now forced on the New England farmer. He had to abandon his attempts to supply the factory population with bread-stuffs, pork, beef, and wool, and had to find new kinds of specialization.

The readjustments in the farm business were made reluctantly, haltingly. Consequently the rural folk did not enjoy the rapid rise in their standard of living which we, at this distance, might have expected. The changes in agricultural technic and in the social life of the rural folk which did result, however, from these two great, new forces, the home market and western competition, were so great and far-reaching that they may well be called an agricultural revolution. It is to a consideration of these changes that the present paper is devoted.

A brief review of the economic situation of the farmers of southern New England in 1810 will furnish a background against which later developments stand out clearly. In Mill's *Principles of Political Economy* we read: "a country will seldom have a productive agriculture, unless it has a large town population, or the only available substitute, a large export trade in agricultural

<sup>1</sup> This paper was read at the Washington meeting of the American Historical Association, December 29, 1920.



produce to supply a population elsewhere."<sup>2</sup> Now the farmers in southern New England in 1810 had neither a foreign nor a home market for their products, and the absence of such markets was the determining condition of their economic and social life. They raised no staples which could be exported to foreign markets, and, with the exception of a few small seaport towns, there was no non-agricultural population in New England which could furnish a home market. The results of the lack of markets were: lack of exchange; lack of differentiation of employments, or division of labor; the absence of progress in agricultural methods; a relatively low standard of living; emigration and social stagnation.<sup>3</sup>

The distinguishing characteristic of farm-life was its economic self-sufficiency. Being unable to sell his products, the farmer was unable to buy from outside. Consequently each farm was a unit or an economic microcosm, producing for itself practically everything that it consumed; food, clothing, furniture, and household- and bed-linen, soap, candles, and a great variety of minor articles. Of course, on farms in the vicinity of the port towns, self-sufficiency was far from complete, and even in the typical rural communities farther inland there was not an entire absence of trade. The country store was a regular feature of village economy, furnishing opportunity, in even the smallest communities, for the exchange of cheese, butter, salt pork and beef, and household textiles in return for salt, iron, sugar, and liquors. In general, however, farming was carried on not as a business, but for the satisfaction of the needs of the farm family.<sup>4</sup>

In the half-century 1810-1860 there took place in New England an industrial revolution, comparable in its significance and in many of its characteristics to the Industrial Revolution in England of the last half of the eighteenth century. On this side of the Atlantic, as on that, power machinery replaced hand-tools, and the processes of manufacture were transferred from the farm-houses and shops of craftsmen to factories. Railroads, furnishing the cheap transportation essential to industrial changes, were rapidly constructed after 1840 and assisted in breaking down the isolation of rural communities.

The rapid increase in the population of southern New England

<sup>2</sup> Book I., ch. VII., sec. 3, p. 120 (Ashley ed., New York, 1909).

<sup>3</sup> See the author's "Rural Economy in New England at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century", chs. II. and III., *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XX, 241-399.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. VI.

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is the most obvious evidence of a new economic situation.<sup>5</sup> To the 811,000 persons living in the states of Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts in 1810, there was added before 1860 a round million more, an increase of 130 per cent. in the half-century. Emigration to western states, which had been keeping population stationary before 1810, was checked, and in addition to the natural increase of the native population there was found room for between three and four hundred thousand persons of foreign birth.

The explanation of the growth of population is to be found principally in the rise of manufactures and, to a less degree, in the prosperity of the maritime industries which were themselves stimulated by manufacturing progress. But this is not the place to review the fascinating history of the rise of New England manufactures; for the present we are interested in that branch of industry only through its effects on the life of the agricultural population.

The increase in population was accompanied by urban concentration. In 1810 there were in the three states only three towns containing as many as 10,000 persons: Boston, Providence, and New Haven. Taken together their population was only 56,000, less than seven per cent. of the total population. In 1860 the towns of over 10,000 numbered 26, containing in all 682,000 persons, or 36.5 per cent. of the total of southern New England. The new population was a non-agricultural population, a fact of greatest importance to the farmers, for it meant that now for the first time they had a market for their products, and that market, moreover, was a *home* market.

We must be prepared to find the influence of the home market very small at first. The manufacturing boom of 1807-1815 was followed by a prolonged period of industrial depression after the panic of 1819. The few factories which survived, and the new establishments which were founded between 1825 and 1830, we should now consider insignificantly small. The cotton and woolen mills were the largest, but very few even of them employed as many as 100 persons each in 1830, and the great majority had less than 50 hands.<sup>6</sup> The new industrial units were not only

<sup>5</sup> For a fuller discussion of the causes and significance of population changes, see the author's "Population Growth in Southern New England, 1810-1860", *Quarterly Publications of the American Statistical Association*, new series, XV, 813-839.

<sup>6</sup> See *Documents relative to Manufactures in the United States* (Ex. Doc. 308, 22 Cong., 1 sess.), vol. I.

small, they were also widely scattered. In 1840 it would have been difficult to find 50 out of the 479 townships in southern New England which did not have at least one manufacturing village clustered around a cotton or a woolen mill, an iron furnace, a chair factory or a carriage shop, or some other representative of the hundreds of miscellaneous branches of manufacturing which had grown up in haphazard fashion in every part of the three states. In the absence of local concentration of industries, there could be no concentration of the industrial population. Consequently the effects of the home market were spread thin over the entire area, and no single agricultural community received much benefit therefrom.

One of the earliest and most wide-spread effects of the new market was an increased interest in agricultural improvement. A new spirit was stirring among the farmers. They began to feel that they were living in a period of great changes, and they were unwilling to lag behind the age. At just this time the New England farmers were fortunate in having presented to them a form of organization by which the spirit of improvement might be fostered and turned into the most effective channels. I refer to the agricultural societies on the Berkshire plan. First founded in Pittsfield, in 1811, these societies spread into practically every county in southern New England in the next fifteen years.<sup>7</sup> In contrast to the older societies whose interest in agriculture was largely literary and philosophical, the Berkshire societies were made up of practical working farmers; their work was consequently far more important than that of their predecessors. The older societies had confessed their inability to interest the common farmers in their theories and schemes for improvement. The reason was not far to seek. The working farmer of an inland community could not be interested in schemes to increase production until someone could show him a market for his surplus. But as soon as the home market developed, it was not difficult to stimulate interest in better farming. The new agricultural societies owed their rapid growth and great popularity partly to their success in seizing upon the awakened interest of the farmer, instructing him by pamphlets and addresses, stimulating competition by annual cattle shows and exhibitions of agricultural produce. But their success is also explained by the skill with which

<sup>7</sup> The early history of these societies is related by Elkanah Watson in his "History of Agricultural Societies on the Modern Berkshire System from 1807 to 1820", printed in *History of . . . the Western Canals in the State of New York* (Albany, 1820).

they satisfied, in their annual gatherings, the farmer's deep-lying need for more social contacts, for closer relations with others in the community.

The immediate practical results of the new spirit were not revolutionary. Most farmers continued on about the same lines, doing somewhat better what they had for many years been doing rather poorly. There was, however, in the first quarter of the century the important change from wooden to cast-iron ploughs which took place with spectacular rapidity. Iron ploughs were practically unknown until 1828 or 1830, and then in a few years everybody had them.<sup>8</sup> In spreading information about the new implements, the agricultural societies did valuable service, ploughing matches being regular features of their annual exhibitions.

The lighter draft of the new iron ploughs, and of the steel ploughs which succeeded them, made possible the substitution on the farm of horses for oxen as draft animals. The displacement of oxen was well under way in progressive communities by 1840, but was not fully completed until after the Civil War. In fact, remote New England villages are now among the few spots in the United States where an occasional yoke of oxen may still be seen. The Yankee farmer was much attached to his oxen; they were stronger if not so fast as horses; they worked better in rough and marshy ground; and furthermore, they had food value after their working days were over. Besides, sentiment was involved. "The ox was a pioneer with the Pilgrim", we read in one of the reports of the Massachusetts agricultural societies,<sup>9</sup> and the descendants of the Pilgrims did not willingly abandon the use of the faithful animals. The faster gait of horses made them better adapted not only for ploughing but for the operation of the various new agricultural machines, such as mowing machines and horse-rakes, which were invented between 1830 and 1840. On the small, uneven fields of the New England farms the new machines were at a great disadvantage and consequently were much more slowly introduced than in the states to the west and south. Mowing machines, for example, were still a curiosity in New England at the time of the Civil War.<sup>10</sup>

A detailed review of the technical aspects of the revolution in New England agriculture cannot be attempted here. Confining our attention to the broader economic aspects of the transition

<sup>8</sup> See *New England Farmer*, IX. 114.

<sup>9</sup> Massachusetts, Secretary of State, *Abstract from Returns of Agricultural Societies*, 1845, p. 67.

<sup>10</sup> Massachusetts, State Board of Agriculture, *Annual Report*, 1856, I. 175.

from self-sufficient to commercial farming, we find increasing specialization of first importance. Adam Smith's familiar phrase, "the division of labor is limited by the extent of the market", finds clear application here. In 1810 farming was practically uniform throughout southern New England. Every farmer distributed his land in about the same proportions into pasturage, woodland, and tillage, and raised about the same crops and kept about the same kind and quantity of stock as every other farmer. There were one or two unique regions, such as the Connecticut Valley, Nantucket, and Cape Cod, but for the most part it made little difference in the character of farming whether it was conducted in one county or in another. But the opportunity of selling farm products in the new home market stimulated differentiation. The market acted as a selective force, tending to encourage in various groups of townships the particular branch of farming for which they were best fitted. In the language of the economist there was developed a territorial division of labor in New England agriculture. The new specialization was of two kinds: (1) determined by location, (2) determined by advantages of natural resources. Let us consider first the specialization determined by location.

In Essex and Middlesex Counties in eastern Massachusetts the advantage of situation in the immediate neighborhood of growing industrial towns, such as Lynn, Lawrence, Lowell, and Boston, had produced by 1840 well-defined specialization in market-gardening and in dairy-farming. Of Middlesex County Henry Colman wrote in 1841:

Though in a great degree in its general aspect unpromising, yet no county in the State is more distinguished for its agricultural improvements than Middlesex. . . . The Capital, with the large towns in its vicinity and the several villages and manufacturing towns in the interior, afford a ready and quick market for all the products of agriculture. This condition determines in a great measure the character of the agriculture of the county—which is confined rather to the production of vegetables, fruits, butter, and articles that find an immediate sale in the towns, than to products on a large scale, to be sold in great quantities or consumed upon the farm.<sup>11</sup>

An agricultural survey of Rhode Island published in 1840<sup>12</sup> describes the rapid development of intensive agriculture in the towns within market radius of Providence. Marshes were drained, land reclaimed, and record crops of onions, carrots, turnips, and

<sup>11</sup> Massachusetts, Commissioner for the Agricultural Survey of the State, *Fourth Report* (Boston, 1841), pp. 194-197.

<sup>12</sup> Charles T. Jackson, *Report on the Geological and Agricultural Survey of the State of Rhode Island* (Providence, 1840).

potatoes were grown. The attention to root crops and the large proportion of farm areas in tillage were unusual in New England. Similar tendencies with less striking results were observed in the neighborhood of Fall River, New Bedford, and New Haven.

The peculiarities of natural resources, chiefly soil and configuration, gave rise to specialization in three branches: (1) the fattening of beef-cattle in the towns of northern Massachusetts in the Connecticut Valley; (2) the cultivation of tobacco on a narrow strip of Connecticut River lowlands extending from central Connecticut to the northern border of Massachusetts; (3) wool-growing in a number of rather widely separated, hilly regions, but principally in the western counties of Massachusetts and Connecticut. The history of each of the three branches of specialized agriculture forms in itself an interesting study, displaying the action of market forces and illustrating the difficulties which prevented the New England farmers from taking full advantage of their new market. But the brief scope of this paper will not permit their consideration here.

To summarize: the home market was the dominant influence affecting New England agriculture from 1810 to 1840. The new market opportunities stimulated a new spirit in the farmers, leading to the introduction of important technical changes; also, specialized, commercial agriculture was developed in well-defined areas.

Now we are prepared to consider the effects of the second great influence, *viz.*, outside competition, chiefly from the West. It would be hardly accurate to fix the beginning of western competition at 1840, for the New England farmers had never enjoyed a monopoly of their market. Even before 1810 the trading and fishing population of the seaport towns had received large supplies of wheat-flour and corn from New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. The opening of the Erie Canal and the introduction of steam transportation on Long Island Sound and the Connecticut River brought in steadily increasing quantities of food-stuffs for the supply of the new factory villages, so that the establishment of through railroad connection with the West between 1840 and 1850 marked not the beginning, but the culmination of a generation of growing pressure on New England producers from cheaper outside sources of supply.

The influence of the railroads was twofold. In the first place, the trunk-lines laid down between 1830 and 1850, such as the Boston and Albany and the lines running northward from Long

Island Sound, brought in wool, wheat, and pork at prices so low as to discourage home production. And such cheap transportation tended to break down that division of labor which was based on the peculiarities of natural resources. Disaster overtook the new specialized agriculture in two lines, wool-growing and beef-fattening. The railroads brought in the cheaper wools of Michigan, Ohio, and Illinois at a transportation cost of only two or three cents a pound.<sup>13</sup> The inevitable effect was the decline of wool prices in New England and the rapid abandonment of sheep-raising. The census figures show a general decline in sheep in each of the three states, amounting to a 50 per cent. loss in 1840-1850, followed by a further decline of 35 per cent. in 1850-1860.<sup>14</sup>

The check imposed by outside competition on beef-fattening, while not as disastrous as in the case of wool-growing, was nevertheless severe. The shipment of dressed beef in refrigerator cars was of course still unknown, and freight charges were high on the live animals. Consequently a large part of the cattle received from outside came on the hoof from the bordering states, being driven in herds to local markets. In 1840 the reporter of the Brighton market, the most important live-stock market in southern New England, wrote: "About two-thirds of the stall-fed cattle are from this State, the balance principally from New Hampshire, Vermont, and Maine; now and then a lot from New York." In 1854 it was officially estimated that more than half of the beef supply of Massachusetts came from without the state, which meant outside of southern New England, as neither Connecticut nor Rhode Island produced enough for even its own wants. Beef-fattening remained the most important and profitable branch of farming in Franklin County until the Civil War, but it failed to expand with the expansion of the industrial population and with the demand for beef.<sup>15</sup>

But the railroads also provided cheaper internal communication, and thus greatly promoted specialization in branches of the

<sup>13</sup> C. W. Wright, *Wool Growing and the Tariff* (Boston, 1910, *Harvard Economic Studies*, V.), p. 128.

<sup>14</sup> The number of sheep in southern New England reported by the census of 1840 was 871,832; in 1850, 407,150; and in 1860, 264,500.

<sup>15</sup> There were, according to the census of 1840, 558,000 neat cattle in the three states; in 1860 the number reported was 555,000, of which 263,000 were milch cows. It is probable that owing to the increase in milk-farming, the milch cows formed a larger proportion of total neat cattle in 1860 than in 1840. If this assumption is true, then the decline of beef cattle was greater than the above figures would seem to indicate. Relative to population, beef-cattle had declined from 48 per 100 persons in 1840 to 30 per 100 in 1860.



agricultural industry where nearness to the market was the determining advantage. The main lines of railroad were soon supplemented by a close network of branch and local lines. Thus the areas of profitable specialization in market-gardening, fruit-raising, and milk-farming were rapidly widened after 1840. A keen observer of agricultural change in Massachusetts writing in 1850 said: "Probably, in our state, there are now few farms not within ten or twelve miles of a railroad. They are thus enabled to send many articles to market, for which they before had none; while the transit of what they sell and what they consume is wonderfully cheapened."<sup>16</sup> The results of cheap transportation he expressed as follows: "The former vegetable gardens for the metropolis are transformed into houselots, and their substitutes are found in the valleys or on the hillsides of Worcester or Middlesex, while her strawberry beds extend to the banks of the Connecticut."

In the dairy industries, contrasting effects of cheap transportation appear clearly. The production of cheese, for which the western counties of Massachusetts and Connecticut had become famous, declined rapidly between 1850 and 1860, when exposed to the competition of the newly established cheese factories of western New York and Vermont.<sup>17</sup> But in the case of milk, and to a less degree in the case of butter, the absence of modern methods of refrigeration made nearness to the market decisive. The result was a marked increase in dairy-farming in the industrial counties. If reliable statistics were available, I believe we could show an interesting migration of dairy cows from east to west in the years 1820 to 1840 and a re-migration from west to east in the succeeding twenty years.

The full extent of the effects of cheap transportation on New England are not revealed in its effects on specialized agriculture alone. A large proportion of the farmers never went in for specialties. They felt the stimulating effects of the new market, and responded by attempting to increase production in the lines

<sup>16</sup> Charles Theodore Russell, *Agricultural Progress in Massachusetts for the last Half Century*, address before the Westborough, Mass., Agricultural Society (Boston, 1850), pp. 18-19.

<sup>17</sup> In 1850 Connecticut was the fifth cheese-producing state in the Union, being credited by the census of that year with a product of 5,363,000 pounds. Massachusetts produced 7,100,000 pounds. In 1860 the product had fallen to 4,000,000 and 5,300,000 pounds respectively. Litchfield County cheese enjoyed a wide reputation and was sold for high prices in the markets of Boston, New York, and Baltimore. See Connecticut State Agricultural Society, *Transactions*, 1855, p. 327.

of general farming. They continued to keep cattle and pigs for their own supplies of meat and dairy products, hoping for the opportunity to sell a small surplus. The same policy was evident in the crops they raised, chiefly hay, corn, and potatoes. But even the general farmers could not remain unaffected by outside competition. They found their market for beef and cheese curtailed by the same influences which had destroyed the production of these articles in specialized areas. Western pork was making serious inroads into New England markets before 1840. In an agricultural address of 1836 the following statement was made: "Within a few years a mercantile house in Boston purchased in a single season, from the county of Worcester, nearly two million pounds of pork, the growth and produce of that county; and the same house is now employed in obtaining the same article of provision from the West, to sell for consumption in that very county."<sup>18</sup> Importation of improved breeds<sup>19</sup> and the selection of native stock bettered the quality of hogs, making them more valuable as pork-producers, but their numbers decreased rapidly. The census of 1860 showed only 175,000 swine in the three states, where there had been over 300,000 twenty years before.

Hay had always been of great importance in the New England farm economy. Protected by its great bulk from outside competition, this crop showed significant gains both in quantity and quality. The crop of 1860 was 25 per cent. larger than that of 1840, and it was much better hay. Indian corn was at the beginning of the century the backbone of New England agriculture, an unfailing food for man and beast. The increased use of wheat bread checked the use of corn meal for human food,<sup>20</sup> while its use as a food for cattle and swine was cut down by the falling-off in the production of beef and pork. There was increasing competition

<sup>18</sup> *New England Farmer*, XV. 249.

<sup>19</sup> The introduction of Chinese swine, which Colman considered so important (*Fourth Report*, p. 308), seems to have been the result of accident. Trading ships returning from the East had a few on board which they liberated on making port. See Massachusetts State Board of Agriculture, *Annual Report*, 1854, I. 90-93.

<sup>20</sup> Regarding the increasing use of wheat flour Colman wrote: "Public manners in this matter have undergone considerable change within the last quarter of a century. Bread made of rye and Indian meal, was then always to be found upon the tables in the country; and, in parts of the state, was almost exclusively used. Wheat flour was then comparatively a luxury. Now brown bread, as it is termed is almost banished from use. No farmer gets along without his superfine flour, his bolted wheat; and the poorest family is not satisfied, without their wheat or flour bread." Massachusetts, Commissioner for the Agricultural Survey of the State, *Third Report* (Boston, 1840), pp. 51-52.

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from the South and West. Nevertheless, so well adapted was corn to New England that production actually increased 25 per cent., 1840-1860.

The decline of the potato crop from 9,700,000 bushels in 1840 to 5,600,000 bushels in 1860, a loss of over 40 per cent., was one of the tragedies of the period. The decline seems to have been caused not so much by external competition as by a blight which affected the crops for a series of years before the Civil War. The secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Agriculture wrote regarding potatoes in 1854:<sup>21</sup> "Most farmers place but very little reliance on this crop. So extensive were the ravages of the disease to which it has been liable for a few years past, during the last season, that it is likely to receive even less attention hereafter, than it has heretofore." He observed that not only had the acreage planted to potatoes decreased, but the yield per acre had declined noticeably. It is interesting to note that the only counties in southern New England which did not show in the censuses of 1850 and 1860 decreased production of potatoes were Dukes and Nantucket, both of which being islands separated by several miles from the mainland seem to have been immune from the ravages of the blight.

The agricultural revolution brought great changes in household economy. In fact the best evidence of the extent and rapidity of the transition from self-sufficient to commercial agriculture is to be found in the decay of the household industries. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the typical New England farmer was still clad in homespun cloth made from wool sheared from his own sheep, spun, dyed, and woven in his own home by the women of his household. Many other articles of household furnishing such as blankets, towels, and sheets were made by these overworked women. Before the Civil War, however, the household textile industry was transferred entirely to the new factories. The graceful spinning-wheels and clumsy hand-loom were relegated to the attics of the farmhouses, there to accumulate dust and cobwebs until rescued and restored to posts of honor by the antique-collectors of our own generation.

The transfer of the textile industry from farmhouses to fac-

<sup>21</sup> *Annual Report*, 1854, I. 32-34. In 1851 a reward of \$10,000 was offered for "a sure and practicable remedy" for the blight. The proposals made were summarized in a pamphlet published by the Massachusetts Secretary of State, entitled *Synopsis of . . . Communications on the Cause and Cure of the Potato Rot* (Boston, 1852), which affords an interesting commentary on the state of agricultural science at the time.

tories was an interlocking feature of both the industrial and the agricultural revolutions in New England. Until now the change has been studied chiefly with reference to the growth of manufactures; but from the standpoint of the history of the rural people it is hardly of less importance.

As soon as the cash income could be gained from the sale of wool, pork, butter, and cheese or vegetables, the farmers began to buy goods which they had formerly produced for themselves. The rapidity of the change from homespun to factory-made textiles bears eloquent testimony to the hardship which the household industries had imposed upon the farm women. The coincidence in time and place between the decay of household industries and the rise of the market is striking. The reports of agricultural fairs show that the exhibits of home-made textiles fell off rapidly between 1820 and 1830 in counties where industrial growth and urban concentration were progressing most rapidly. An official report from Connecticut in connection with the census of 1830 stated that "individual and household manufactures are so far abandoned as to be comparatively inconsiderable",<sup>22</sup> and in his agricultural survey of certain counties in Massachusetts ten years later Colman speaks of the household industry of that state as "completely destroyed".<sup>23</sup> It seems safe to conclude that by 1860, although the use of homespun fabrics still continued, their further production in farmers' families in southern New England had come to an end.

The significance of the decay of the household manufactures can hardly be exaggerated. Even before the change was wholly completed, its importance was recognized by the leading thinkers of the day. Horace Bushnell said to the Litchfield farmers in 1851: "This transition from mother- and daughter-power to water- and steam-power is a great one, greater by far than many have as yet begun to conceive—one that is to carry with it a complete revolution of domestic life and social manners."<sup>24</sup> The prophecy proved true. As self-sufficient farming declined there went with it long-established habits and traditions, not only in the

<sup>22</sup> *Documents relative to Manufactures in the United States (Ex. Doc. 308, 22 Cong., 1. sess.)*, vol. I.

<sup>23</sup> A broad generalization which must be qualified. In a number of instances he calls attention to the persistence of self-sufficient conditions in remote townships, but such cases were exceptions, sufficiently rare to deserve especial comment. See *Fourth Report*, pp. 156-157, 178-179; also *Second Report*, p. 61.

<sup>24</sup> *Work and Play* (New York, 1881), p. 382.

method of getting a living, but also in ways of thinking and of living. The *mores* of self-maintenance, to use Sumner's phrase, were revolutionized and there followed of necessity a change in the ideas and ideals of the rural folk, in family and in social relations.

The self-sufficient economy emphasized the virtues of self-reliance and independence, of frugality and thrift. As Bushnell remarked, it harnessed together in the productive process all the members of the family, young and old, male and female; it concentrated attention upon the interests of the family group rather than upon the interests of its individual members. The introduction of the cash *nerus*, the selling of certain articles and buying of others, forced the farmers to confront a new set of problems, calling for the exercise of a new set of faculties. Shrewdness in buying and selling must now be added to the simpler qualities of hard work and saving. Farming became a more speculative business, for to the already existent risks of weather conditions was added the risk of price-fluctuations. Thereafter success in getting a living no longer depended on the unremitting efforts of the farm family, aided by Providence, but to a large extent also upon the unpredictable wants and labors of millions of persons in the industrial villages, and in the newer farms to the westward.

It is clear that, in the long run, the transfer of the production of textiles from the farmhouse to the factory must have been of advantage to the rural population. Production was far more effectively carried on in the factories, so that eventually the farmers got more goods for a given amount of labor by concentrating their efforts on purely agricultural operations. But only in the long run were the advantages of the change clearly apparent. In the meantime, during the twenty or thirty years of transition, there were a number of discouraging difficulties. There was first of all the problem of finding a new employment for the farmers' wives and daughters. Remarks such as the following show how this problem was presented:<sup>25</sup>

It is a deceptive and dangerous economy, which induces a farmer to buy all his woollens of the manufacturer, merely because he can buy them cheap—cheaper even than he supposes he can make them at home. . . . While the farmer is buying at the store, what he could make at home, . . . the members of his family, whose labour could produce the same articles, are unemployed, or employed to little or no purpose.

Colman, who was a clergyman as well as an agriculturist, speaks

<sup>25</sup> *New England Farmer*, VIII, 126.

with regret in several instances of the decline of the household manufactures because the "healthy exercise of domestic labour" has been exchanged for "the idleness and frivolities of pride and luxury";<sup>26</sup> and again, emphasizing the economic rather than the moral aspects of the problem, he speaks of the "internal resources of the farmer" having "dried up".<sup>27</sup>

Anyone familiar with the exhausting toil of the farm women of the earlier years, might have remarked that they had well deserved a rest. But habit and tradition, and economic pressure as well, decreed otherwise. The traditional Puritan ethics required all to be producers and none merely consumers. No one knew what evil work the Devil might find for idle hands, especially if these hands were women's.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, even with improved agricultural technic, the income from a New England farm was meagre, and the wants of the farm family were expanding rapidly. The urban population were establishing a new and higher standard of living; the farmers' daughters wanted better clothes, and pianos like those of their city cousins.

The problem of finding new employment for the farm women was solved in two ways: (1) by their leaving the farms and taking employment in the rapidly growing urban centres, either in factories, or as school teachers, or in domestic service; (2) by the introduction of new industrial occupations in the home. We know how important was the migration of the farmers' daughters to Lowell, Lawrence, and Fall River in the years around 1840, furnishing an indispensable labor force for the new factories, and it would be interesting to trace their fortune further, but we are concerned here chiefly with those who stayed on the farms. The employments to which the latter now turned their attention were the sewing of shoes, the plaiting and sewing of straw and palm-leaf hats and bonnets, and the production of men's ready-to-wear clothing. An extreme example of the efforts to utilize the surplus labor force on farms is seen in the misguided attempts to hatch silk-worms and produce reeled silk.

<sup>26</sup> *Second Report*, p. 138.

<sup>27</sup> "In the changes which, since the introduction of extensive manufactories of cotton and woolen among us, have taken place in our habits of domestic labour, some of the internal resources of the farmer have dried up, and new occasions of expenditure introduced." *Fourth Report*, p. 181.

<sup>28</sup> In Wilder's *History of Leominster* (Fitchburg, 1853), p. 29, we find the fear expressed that the farmers' daughters will not only lose skill "but they will have more time to be idle, and thus will be less fit for good and profitable wives".

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Most of the employments enumerated above were not new. The farm women had long been making their own bonnets and their husbands' and fathers' shirts and underclothes, but whereas formerly such articles were produced principally for home consumption, after about 1830 or 1840 they were produced principally for sale. The organization of production was what is known to economists as the commission system, a transitional stage between household and factory production. The employer was a merchant who provided the straw, cloth, or parts of shoes. He also undertook to dispose of the finished product, paying the workers on a commission basis.

In the making of shoes, the most important of these domestic manufactures, the men were also employed. In some townships in Massachusetts a very large proportion of the population was actively engaged in shoe-making. In 1837, in the town of Grafton for instance, 1400, or almost one-half of a total population of 2950, were officially reported as making shoes.<sup>29</sup> A writer in the *New England Farmer* said that the industry in that place "is a domestic manufacture, chiefly carried on by men at their own homes, with their own means, where their labors and those of their families alternate with the care of their gardens and farms, promoting wealth and furnishing recreation".<sup>30</sup> Of Essex County, where the farmer shoemakers were most numerous, Colman wrote: "Farming in this county is scarcely pursued as a distinct or exclusive profession; but as subsidiary to some other business or pursuit."<sup>31</sup>

The farmers carried on a wide variety of quasi-industrial pursuits, by-industries which in some cases were more lucrative than agriculture. Building operations in the growing industrial communities demanded sand, stone, and timber. Besides these, the farms furnished to the city-dweller enormous quantities of firewood and charcoal, the products of the winter months. The Yankee had long been famous as a whittler and in these years he turned his experience in wood-working to good account. The extent and variety of the wooden wares produced in some of the more remote communities is astonishing. In various towns in Franklin County there were made, in 1855, surgical splints, faucets, canes, washboards, rolling-pins, pill-boxes, shingles, scythe-snaths, lemon-squeezers, towel-rollers, twine-reels, match-boxes, brooms,

<sup>29</sup> Massachusetts, Secretary of State, *Statistics of Certain Branches of Industry* (Boston, 1837).

<sup>30</sup> XV, 57.

<sup>31</sup> *First Report, Agriculture of Massachusetts* (1838), p. 14.



broom-handles, and penholders.<sup>32</sup> All of these were made for sale, either in the cities or in the Southern states. Partly they were made by farmers in small shops on their own premises, and partly in small factories utilizing a small water-power, where the farmers worked intermittently in the winter and between seasons. The numerous by-industries carried on by the New England farmers and by their wives and daughters provided an important supplement to the farm income. The prosperity of many communities out of reach of the market influence can be explained only by the existence of these quasi-industrial pursuits.

The general impression remaining after a careful survey of New England agriculture in this period is not one of great achievement or striking progress. There was undoubtedly prosperity in certain areas and probably a higher standard of living for the rural population as a whole. But somehow we cannot escape the feeling that the New England farmers had not lived up to their opportunities. Often in the comments of the best-informed contemporary observers we find frank dissatisfaction.<sup>33</sup> They refer to the prevailing condition of agriculture as "common, irregular, rag-weed farming, helter-skelter farming", they condemn the "niggardly, shiftless, and slovenly manner in which the business of the farm is conducted", painting realistic pictures of poor crops, inconvenient houses, falling walls, and denuded hills and undrained swamps, debts, mortgages, and foreclosures.

In the transition period there was little uniformity in agricultural conditions. In a single county we might find, so one writer tells us, "every system of farm management practised that has ever been followed since the days of Noah". In every community there were a few progressive farmers, but often in close proximity, perhaps on the next farm, there would be tumble-down buildings and a general slovenly appearance. The great majority of farmers were between these extremes. They were not badly off; their hundred acres were all paid for, and perhaps they had laid aside a little for a rainy day. They kept four or five cows, a yoke of oxen, a horse, some pigs. They sold a little butter, a little rye, a little pork, a pair of calves, possibly a little cider and a cord or two of wood, yielding a total money income of four or five hundred dollars. When out of this they had paid a hired man for services in planting and haying, the grocer, the tailor, and the

<sup>32</sup> Massachusetts, *Statistics of Industry*, 1855.

<sup>33</sup> For example, the address of Donald G. Mitchell before the Connecticut State Agricultural Society in 1857. *Transactions*, 1857, pp. 95-116.

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shoemaker, the blacksmith, and taxes, there was very little left over.<sup>24</sup>

There is an old French proverb which runs, "Tout comprendre c'est tout pardonner", and perhaps when we understand and fully appreciate the difficulties and discouragements which the New England farmers of this period had to face, and the doubts and fears which harassed them, we shall be inclined to judge that they did well, rather than poorly. Changes in farming are always slower than in other industries because of the stronger hold of traditional habits. Rural folk tend to be conservative. It is harder for them to get out of the rut of the good old ways. Moreover, they lacked knowledge, for notwithstanding the educational services of the agricultural societies and of the farm papers, there was still much uncertainty on even such a familiar subject as the proper methods of planting and cultivating corn. Superstitions regarding the influence of the moon still lingered in the minds of intelligent persons.

The farmers suffered from the lack of consistent leadership. They got advice from all sides, but much of it was conflicting. Only rarely do we find before 1840 frank and clear-sighted recognition of the necessity of giving up the old-style, self-sufficient farming;<sup>25</sup> for the most part the orators of the day at agricultural fairs were content to be followers rather than leaders of public opinion. They advised their hearers to continue to raise everything they needed "to eat, drink or wear". "The first of all rules in domestic economy", says Colman, "as far as the actual wants of his family are concerned, is for the farmer never to go abroad for what he can produce at home."<sup>26</sup>

An important difficulty was the farmers' lack of business experience. Commercial farming involved the selling of crops and the buying of supplies. The markets for agricultural produce were still unorganized, the phenomena of price fluctuations unfamiliar.<sup>27</sup> In buying machinery and commercial fertilizers the farmers were often the victims of sharp practices, and such experiences made them more reluctant than ever to invest their money in these very desirable improvements.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.

<sup>25</sup> See address of William Buckminster before Middlesex Society of Husbandmen and Manufacturers, 1838, in *New England Farmer*, XVII. 113-114.

<sup>26</sup> *Agricultural Addresses at New Haven, Norwich, and Hartford, Conn., at the County Cattle Shows in the year 1840* (Boston, 1840), p. 38.

<sup>27</sup> Well illustrated by the experiences of the cattle raisers of Franklin County, Mass. See *Fourth Report, Agriculture of Massachusetts*, p. 84.

<sup>28</sup> See reports of Professor S. W. Johnson on analysis of commercial fertilizers, in *Transactions of Connecticut State Agricultural Society*, 1859.

Then, also, they lacked capital, not only for permanent improvements, but also for running expenses. The farmers at a distance from their markets usually sold their pork, butter, cheese, and grain between January and April. Very few had sufficient working capital to support their families and pay for hired labor for nine months in the year. Hence they could often employ only half as much labor as could have been profitably used. Their supplies they got from the country store-keepers on credit, paying high interest rates in the shape of advances over cash prices.<sup>39</sup> Banking facilities were no better adapted to the needs of the farmers then than now. The complaint of those days that banks existed for the benefit only of merchants and manufacturers sounds strangely modern. Bankers were feared and distrusted, and the farmer was advised to "shun the door of a bank as he would an approach of the plague or cholera".<sup>40</sup>

The disturbing effects of western competition I have already mentioned, showing how the farmers had hardly entered upon their new business experience when the flood of competing products forced them to seek new lines of specialization.

I have reserved to the last what seems to me the most depressing and disastrous of all the hindrances to progress in agriculture: this was the wholesale desertion of the farms by the younger generation. Not only the farmers' daughters, but their sons as well, were leaving their homes throughout this period to seek their fortunes as clerks and factory operatives in the growing urban communities. The boys who wanted to pursue agriculture went West, although the lure of that region was not nearly as strong as in the generations before 1820. The kind of farming their fathers were carrying on seemed to promise nothing but "a fixed, dull round of listless toil". Besides having the idea that farming was bound to be unprofitable, the younger generation was oppressed with a growing sense of social inferiority to the city population. A writer in the *New England Farmer* about 1840 says:

Every farmer's son and daughter are in pursuit of some genteel mode of living. After consuming the farm in the expenses of a fashionable, flashy, fanciful education, they leave the honorable profession of their fathers to become doctors, lawyers, merchants, or ministers or something of the kind.<sup>41</sup>

The tendency to leave the farms deprived the farmers of their

<sup>39</sup> *Fourth Report, Agriculture of Massachusetts*, pp. 182-183.

<sup>40</sup> *New England Farmer*, XIII. 368; XVII. 78.

<sup>41</sup> *New England Farmer*, XVII. 406. See also *Transactions of Connecticut Agricultural Society*, 1856, pp. 396-400.

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only available labor force, at a time when cheap and reliable labor was particularly necessary if they were to take full advantage of the new market opportunities. But the ultimate effects of the rural exodus were of greater importance. The best human material was selected out of the country; the best brains and the boldest spirits went to the cities. To the more timid and the slow and the plodders was left the great task of carrying forward the agricultural revolution.<sup>42</sup> Shall we wonder that they failed to realize its full possibilities?

It should now be clear that in the fifty years before the Civil War, New England was making great strides in social evolution. Into the space of less than two generations had been compressed momentous changes—the transition from self-sufficient to commercial agriculture, and from household manufactures to the factory system—changes which in England and on the Continent of Europe had been spread over centuries. As in the case of organic evolution, so in the evolution of New England society, there was constantly progressing differentiation. Out of the simple rural communities which comprehended the bulk of New England life at the beginning of the nineteenth century there unfolded a varied urban, industrial life. The germs of manufacturing which had been developing in the farm household now split off as independent occupations. Farming itself became varied by the adaptation of its various branches to the soil and location of particular regions. The market worked as a selective force. Under its influence good land became more sharply differentiated from poor land. The poor land, even in entire farms, was abandoned to grow up to woods, while the farmers' efforts were concentrated on the best fields.

The differentiation of occupations led to a differentiation of customs and habits of life between rural and city folk. The urban population began to wear a different kind of clothes, to live in a different kind of houses from those of their country cousins. They began to think and talk differently, and eventually they began to look down upon the farmers as a backward race. Within the cities the factory system produced further differentiation between capitalists and laborers. The gulf was widened when the Irish

<sup>42</sup> "There is need for more brain put to the farmer's work. . . . Wit, ingenuity, shrewdness, tact, seem to gravitate, all of them, into other pursuits, into cities, into shops, into courts, into pulpits; and the dullest of the sons takes the farm. I dislike to say it. I dislike to say it all the more, because it is so true." From the address of Donald G. Mitchell, *Transactions of Connecticut State Agricultural Society*, 1857, p. 108.

arrived to swell the ranks of unskilled labor, adding to the economic conflict divergences of race and religion.

It was a time of storm and stress for both urban and rural New England. Men's minds and hearts in city and country alike were deeply stirred by a series of remarkable intellectual and social movements. In politics, Republicanism triumphed over Federalism; in religion, the struggles of Unitarians and Trinitarians for domination shook the established Congregationalism; a vigorous temperance reform swept through the rural communities; the anti-slavery movement foreshadowed the Civil War.<sup>43</sup> Leadership in reform naturally came from the cities, but the strength of these movements and the measure of success they eventually attained depended upon the active response and hearty support of the countryfolk. One may not be ready to subscribe to a strict economic interpretation of history, and yet may recognize the inevitable connection between the changes in the external conditions of New England and the changes in its inner spirit. The New England farmers had been awakened; they had been encouraged, disturbed, disappointed, and perplexed. But most important had been the awakening, the preparation of their minds for the reception of new ideas.

PERCY W. BIDWELL.

<sup>43</sup> Professor Turner has described these reform movements in chapter II. of his *Rise of the New West* (New York, 1906). In a recent paper, "Greater New England in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century" (*Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, new series, XXIX. 222-241), he relates "the changes of these revolutionary decades" to emigration to the West, showing how the democracy and optimism of the new region reacted on literature and politics in the older parent communities.

## CHINESE HISTORICAL STUDIES DURING THE PAST SEVEN YEARS

THE Great War, which made so serious a gap and marked so important a transition in much of the productive scholarship of the world, has not been without effect upon studies in the field of Chinese history. These have, however, continued throughout the past seven years with surprisingly little interruption, less, certainly, than in many other fields of research and writing. Now that the war is officially over, and scholarship is free to return to many of its normal channels, it is important to pick up the broken threads and to see what has been published during the years when the major part of the world's attention has been absorbed by the great conflict, and the peace settlements that followed. This is particularly advisable because the past seven years have brought the Far East into increased prominence. The problems of the Chinese and Japanese and their neighbors are much more a matter of concern to the Occident than they were in July, 1914, and it is increasingly the duty and privilege of European and American scholars to study the history, both recent and remote, of these peoples, and to familiarize the West with the results. Only thus can there be obtained that intelligent understanding of our trans-Pacific neighbors which will prevent us from blundering and which will enable us to behave toward them wisely, sympathetically, and justly.

First of all, scholarship has suffered a grave loss in the death of two of our most noted sinologues, William Woodville Rockhill and Édouard Chavannes. The former, who died at Honolulu December 4, 1914, had had a noteworthy career as a scholar and diplomat. His interest in the Far East began at an early age, for he commenced the study of Tibetan as a youth at St. Cyr. He came to Peking in 1884 as second secretary to the American legation, with the purpose of pursuing his study of Chinese and Tibetan. Later connected for some years with the Smithsonian Institution, he made expeditions to Tibet under its auspices and published his results in 1891, 1894, and 1895. Much of his life was spent in the diplomatic service of the United States, in Peking, Constantinople, and St. Petersburg, and in the Department of State, but his interests in scholarship as such never abated and he found time to continue his researches and to publish from time

to time. His works chiefly of interest to historians were *Conventions and Treaties with or concerning China and Korea* (1908), and *Chau Ju-Kua: His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chi* (St. Petersburg, 1912), a noteworthy piece of translating and editing which was done in collaboration with Professor Friedrich Hirth.

M. Chavannes at the time of his death was without much question the greatest scholar in things Chinese that the Occident possessed. Brilliant, carefully trained, and an indefatigable worker, he had been for many years the joy and the despair of those interested in Chinese scholarship. His most noteworthy production, *Les Mémoires Historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien* (five volumes, Paris, 1895-1905) was much more than a translation of that great history. Its elaborate prolegomena and its full critical and explanatory notes are invaluable commentaries on the early centuries of Chinese history which will not soon, if ever, be superseded, and it is an irreparable loss to scholarship that the author should have been cut off in the prime of his productive years without the opportunity of completing his self-appointed task. This formidable *magnum opus* would alone have been sufficient to give M. Chavannes a foremost place in scholarship. In addition, however, he was the author of numerous articles and monographs which have added much to our knowledge of earlier Chinese history. Two of his later works, *Mission Archéologique dans la Chine Septentrionale*, tome I., première partie, *La Sculpture à l'Epoque des Han* (three volumes, Paris, E. Leroux, 1913), and (in conjunction with P. Pelliot) *Un Traité Maniché, retrouvé en Chine* (Paris, 1914), are part of the fruits of an expedition which promised much to the scholarly world and which one wishes might have been followed by others.

The deaths of Rockhill and Chavannes, while so regrettable, fortunately do not deprive us of all of our older noteworthy scholars in Chinese history. Professor Hirth still lives, although we have had little from his pen for some time. Henri Cordier, the editor of the journal *T'oung Pao*, the compiler of the indispensable *Bibliotheca Sinica* (second edition, four volumes, 1904-1908)—the most nearly complete bibliography of publications on China in foreign languages—and the author of *L'Histoire des Relations de la Chine avec les Puissances Occidentales* (Paris, 1901, 1902), has not only survived the war, but is continuing the publication of



T'oung Pao and has also brought out a history of China<sup>1</sup> which, while by no means as good a piece of work as could be produced, even now, by a Western scholar, has much of interest and value. It is certainly the only recent work of like magnitude which attempts to cover the whole field; and one can only regret that it shows so little perspective, follows so closely the traditional Chinese narrative, and incorporates no more of recent European scholarship. A first-class general history of China has yet to be written and is badly needed. Professor Herbert A. Giles, the veteran Cambridge sinologue, is still at work. In 1914 he published in one volume,<sup>2</sup> notes on a variety of topics which show the wide range of his scholarship in things Chinese. Although he is always an eager controversialist, his work often ranks with the best that has been done in English. Professor Giles's contemporary, with whom he has sparred through many a page of the *China Review*, Professor Edward H. Parker of the University of Manchester, has within the past five years added to his numerous books a new and enlarged edition of his *China, Her History, Diplomacy, and Commerce* (London, 1917).

Of the periodicals which deal with the history of China, the larger number either continued publication through the years of the war or were but slightly interrupted. The *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* regularly made its annual appearance and in addition to its contributed articles is noteworthy, as usual, for its excellent reviews of books. In no other publication can one find in so convenient a form critical, even if often belated, notices of scholarly books on China. The *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* contained as usual admirable book reviews and excellent articles on China. Two of these latter, "Documents relating to the Mission of the Minor Friars to China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries" (July, 1914, pp. 583-599), and "The Minor Friars of China" (January, 1921, pp. 83-115), by A. C. Moule, especially come to mind. In the pages of that model publication on Oriental scholarship, the *Journal Asiatique*, are to be noted especially M. P. Petrucci, "L'Épigraphie des Bronzes Rituels de la Chine Ancienne" (January-February, 1916, pp. 1-76) and "Premier Exposé des Résultats Archéologiques obtenus dans la Chine Occidentale par la Mission Gilbert de Voi-

<sup>1</sup> Henri Cordier, *Histoire Générale de la Chine et de ses Relations avec les Pays Étrangers depuis les Temps les plus anciens jusqu'à la Chute de la Dynastie Mandchoue* (Paris, 1914, 4 vols.).

<sup>2</sup> H. A. Giles, *Adversaria Sinica* (Shanghai, 1914).

sens, Jean Lartigue, et Victor Segalen, 1914", of which three installments have so far appeared.<sup>3</sup> The reports of this expedition show, as have those of the all too few others, what vast and little touched riches China has for the archaeologist. Future expeditions should give us results which are paralleled only by those of the last century in Egypt, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, and Crete, and which, together with the voluminous printed sources that exist, should permit of the reconstruction of China's past with a fullness which is matched by that of no other country. It is to be hoped that the project for an American school of archaeology at Peking will not be dropped but will be pushed vigorously. Such an institution could in time become an important centre for the study of the older China.

Among the periodicals it is a pleasure to note the appearance at Shanghai in 1919 of the *New China Review*, of which twelve numbers had appeared by January, 1921. This journal,<sup>4</sup> the product of the initiative and industry of Mr. Samuel Couling, provides a place for the publication of scholarly articles on China and avoids recent political controversy. It has already won a place for itself and deserves a wide circulation in this as in other countries. The École Française d'Extrême-Orient, that admirable institution for research at Hanoi, continued the publication of its bulletins throughout the war, and is a noteworthy example of the leadership which the French hold in the systematic organization of scholarly research in Chinese subjects.

Of facilities for research there have been a few interesting additions in the course of the past few years. The rapid growth of the Missionary Research Library in New York City is beginning to afford for those students who are interested in the impact upon China of the religious and idealistic phases of Occidental culture an opportunity which is equalled only by the older Day Missions Library at Yale. There has recently gone to Cornell the library of the late Charles W. Wason of Cleveland. This collection was the work of the last several years of Mr. Wason's life, and represents an attempt to gather everything which has appeared in English upon China. It is inferior to the famous Morrison Library, now in Japan, in that the latter was designed to include all which has appeared on China in every European tongue, but it is probably more nearly complete in material in English, and

<sup>3</sup> May-June, 1915, pp. 467-486; Sept.-Oct., 1915, pp. 281-306; May-June, 1916, pp. 369-424.

<sup>4</sup> Samuel Couling, Medhurst College, Shanghai, editor.

has been so amply endowed by its generous founder that it can be kept up to date. It should prove a mecca for all those interested in research in things Chinese, especially in British and American relations with China. Nor must mention be omitted of the growing collections of books in Chinese in the Library of Congress, and the University of California, of the sections of the Newberry Library which are devoted to China, and of the acquisition in Chicago of a font of Chinese type which can be used for scholarly publications.

In recounting one by one the more noteworthy historical books on Chinese subjects which have appeared in the past seven years, it is fitting that one should begin with a group of volumes produced in English by Chinese. These have appeared at various times and places and are by a variety of authors. They are often the work of immature and even inaccurate scholarship, for they are usually doctoral dissertations by younger Chinese whose time from boyhood has been so taken up with Occidental subjects that they have never had the opportunity to go carefully or thoroughly into the Chinese sources. All too frequently those who have guided their research have been American or English scholars who either have no knowledge of Chinese language, institutions, and history, or who have had too fragmentary a knowledge to permit of the proper direction of their students. Works by Chinese are, moreover, often marred by an attempt to glorify China at the expense of the Occident, or by an effort to fit Chinese institutions into Western dress and terminology. Few if any of the books of this class, then, have made important or permanent contributions to our knowledge of earlier Chinese history. They are, however, of very great interest, for they occasionally have incorporated valuable material and not infrequently throw a flood of light upon the interests, the mental prejudices, and the convictions of the younger Chinese who have been trained in America or Europe and who are in the future to have so large a share in the leadership of their country. These volumes, moreover, may well be a promise of better things in years to come, when, trained in modern historical methods, and coming to their own records with an interest and a facility which should be equalled by no Westerner, Chinese will produce works which will greatly extend the world's knowledge of their native land.

The most substantial of the volumes which fall in this class, and one which is by no means open to all the criticisms made of

the group, is *Outlines of Chinese History*, by Li Ung Bing.<sup>5</sup> It is almost exclusively political in its scope, and contents itself with presenting the usually accepted facts of the record of China's past. More than half of its space is devoted to the Manchu dynasty. Its pages are adorned with numerous illustrations, some of them very interesting, and it has some fairly good maps. The Western student will, however, find in it but very little, if anything, that has not already appeared in better form in English from the pens of British and American scholars, such, for example, as the works of MacGowan, Parker, and Hirth, or the shorter summary by Pott. The chief interest of the volume lies in the fact that so excellent a book should be written by a Chinese in English and that it should be published in so creditable a form by a house which is purely Chinese in ownership and management.

Other of the better books of this class are Sih-gung Cheng, *Modern China, a Political Study* (Oxford University Press, 1919), M. T. Z. Tyan, *The Legal Obligations Arising out of Treaty Relations between China and other States* (Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1917), and Y. K. Leong and L. K. Tao, *Village and Town Life in China* (London, George Allen and Unwin, 1915).

The most important general reference-book on China published in recent years is Samuel Couling, *The Encyclopedia Sinica* (Oxford University Press, 1917). A work with so pretentious a title would usually be a co-operative enterprise and could well run into several volumes. The present single volume, however, is almost entirely the work of one man and suffers somewhat not only from this fact but, in spite of 633 pages of small type in double columns, from its brevity. The author disarms criticism, however, by a modest introduction in which all of these shortcomings are frankly and humbly admitted. In spite of the fact that parts of the field have been covered by W. F. Meyers, *Chinese Reader's Manual* (1874, reprinted Shanghai, 1910) and H. A. Giles, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary* (London and Shanghai, 1897, 1898), Mr. Couling's volume is the only one of its kind. It contains, moreover, an amazing amount of material, both on strictly Chinese subjects and on those connected with foreign intercourse with China. Students and teachers of Chinese history are greatly in Mr. Couling's debt and must look forward eagerly to the time when he will carry out his half-expressed hope and

<sup>5</sup> Edited by Professor Joseph Whiteside, Soochow University (Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1914).

see the one volume expanded into several, in which all the best-equipped scholars shall share the burden of compilation.

On the history of Chinese philosophy and religion four volumes need mentioning. Daisetz Taitaro Suzuki, *A Brief History of Early Chinese Philosophy* (London, Probsthain and Company, 1914), while written in an English style which leaves much to be desired, presents in an appreciative yet fair manner a compact account of Chinese philosophy which is of value to the thoughtful student, whether he be a beginner or an expert. Alice Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism, their History, Iconography, and Progressive Evolution through the Northern Buddhist Countries* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1914), is an admirable account of the iconography of Mahayana Buddhism, well illustrated by reproductions of objects in Henry H. Getty's collection. While by no means complete, for that would be impossible in a volume of 196 pages, it contains much that is of value on a subject which is little understood in the Occident. W. E. Soothill, *The Three Religions of China* (New York, 1914), gives in a comparatively brief volume a useful though summarized account of Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. The author has long been a missionary in China and is a scholar of unquestioned distinction and ability, and he treats his subject with a sympathy which leaves little to be desired. The work must remain for some time one of the most useful introductions to the subject. In his *Philosophy of Wang Yang Ming* (Chicago, Open Court Publishing Company, 1916), Professor F. G. Henke has given us a translation of a Chinese compendium of the most important philosopher of the Ming dynasty. The book is of the kind which one wishes we had for many another Chinese thinker.

On the history and archaeology of China before the nineteenth century the past seven years have seen published a number of interesting volumes. James M. Menzies has given us a study of the *Oracle Records from the Waste of Yin* (Shanghai, Kelly and Walsh, 1917). The book is not at all remarkable, except for the fact that the author had been only a few years in China, and that the lithographic reproductions of the specimens discussed were made in the heart of China. These reproductions afford the chief value that attaches to the little book, for they make available to scholars additional light on the origins of the Chinese character. More elaborate is *Chinese and Sumerian* (Oxford University Press, 1913), in which Professor C. J. Ball follows in the footsteps of

Terrien de Lacouperie and others in attempting to discover a connection between the language of early China and that of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley. He himself is convinced that Chinese script "almost certainly sprang from Sumerian prototypes", but unfortunately neither he nor those who hold similar positions have been able to convince any wide circle of scholars of the truth of their fascinating contention. In Paul Pelliot's *Les Grottes de Touen-Houang. Peintures et Sculptures Bouddhiques des Époques des Wei, des Tang et des Song* (Paris, 1914-1921, vols. I-IV.) we have beautifully reproduced examples of art in a western outpost of Chinese civilization where Greco-Indian, Iranian, and Chinese elements are all to be found mingled. We shall wait impatiently for the text which is to accompany these portfolios. Marcel Granet in *Fêtes et Chansons Anciennes de la Chine* (Paris, Leroux, 1919) attempts to shed fresh light on ancient Chinese life and literature by an original treatment of the *Shih Ching*. Dr. John Steele in *The I-Li or Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial* (London, Probsthain and Company, 1917, 2 vols.) has given us a translation of the text and part of the commentary of that ancient work of the Chou dynasty which throws so much light on the ceremonial and the life of China of the second millennium before Christ. Interesting information on the history of Chinese currency is given us in the translation of the *Ch'üan Pu Tung Chih* by K. Tomita in *Ancient Chinese Paper Money as described in a Chinese Work on Numismatics* (*Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, June, 1918). The paper bears the name of Andrew McF. Davis, who furnished the introductory notes. The major part of *Chinese Painters: a Critical Study* (New York, Brentano's, 1920), by the late Raphael Petrucci, is devoted to a brief but excellent historical survey of that branch of Chinese art. Volumes II. and III. of *Mémoires concernant l'Asie Orientale, l'Inde, l'Asie Centrale, l'Extrême Orient*, published by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Paris, Leroux, 1916, 1919), contain some valuable papers. In that long line of excellent publications of the Catholic Mission Press of Shanghai, the *Variétés Sinologiques*,<sup>6</sup> there has recently appeared as no. 52, *Mélanges sur la Chronologie Chinoise*, a work which will prove indispensable to Western students of Chinese history, especially to those wanting the European equivalents to Chinese dates.

<sup>6</sup> I. "Notes concernant la Chronologie Chinoise", par les PP. Havret et Chambeau, S. J.; II. "Prolégomènes à la Concordance Néménique", par le P. Hoang (Shanghai, 1920).

The most prolific present-day writer on the older China is Dr. Berthold Laufer, of the Field Museum of Natural History. It is a sad commentary on the state of American interest in Chinese scholarship that the work of Dr. Laufer, who is without much question one of the greatest Chinese archaeologists that our generation has seen and probably the most learned of living sinologues, should be so little known in this country. It is, however, gratifying to know that he is here, that a few discriminating Americans have had the wisdom to make possible his services, and that he has gathered and placed on exhibition a collection which shows, as probably does no other, the life of China through its long centuries. A mere list of those of Dr. Laufer's monographs, long and short, which have been published in the past seven years is impressive, especially if one realizes how excellent they all are, and that a large proportion of the author's time is of necessity spent in arranging and caring for the collection. In his *Chinese Clay Figures*, part I., *Prolegomena on the History of Defensive Armour* (Chicago, 1914), he attempts in 242 pages to show, especially from clay figures from Shensi and Honan, that plate armor had its origin in Western Asia. *The Diamond, a Study in Chinese and Hellenistic Folk-Lore* (Chicago, 1915), displays something of the breadth of Dr. Laufer's learning, and illustrates the value of comparing cultures as apparently widely separated as were those of Greece and China. In his *The Beginnings of Porcelain in China* (Chicago, 1917) Dr. Laufer traces the production of that characteristically Chinese product from the first gropings after porcelaneous ware in the second and third centuries after Christ to the appearance of the first true porcelain in the seventh century. His latest long contribution, *Sino-Iranica: Chinese Contributions to the History of Civilization of Ancient Iran* (Chicago, 1919), gives in 450 pages some of the information on the culture of ancient Iran which is to be obtained from Chinese sources and, by no means incidentally, sheds much light on the civilization and the language of the older China and on the commerce that connected it across Central Asia with the outposts of Indian, Near Eastern, and Occidental peoples. The volume treats of one hundred and thirty-five different objects, most of them plants or derived from plants, which were either taken from Iran to China or were known by the Chinese to be found in Iran. The time covered is about a millennium and a half, beginning in the second century before Christ with the trip to the West of the redoubtable Han general Chang Ch'ien and closing with the Mongol



(Yüan) Period in the fourteenth century. Sharp issue is taken on some points with such a veteran sinologue as Professor Hirth. While confirming, for instance, the story which declares the first knowledge of wine and the cultivated vine to have been obtained by the Chinese from Central Asia through Chang Ch'ien in the second century B.C., Dr. Laufer roundly denies that the Chinese name for the grape, *p'u t'ao*, is derived from the Greek *βότρυς*. To attempt to add to this list of monographs that of the articles which have come from the pen of Dr. Laufer in the past seven years would prolong this article to too great length. We may expect many other and even more notable works from him in the course of the next twenty years.

On the earlier foreign intercourse with China three notable works have appeared in the period we have under review: Professor P. Y. Sacki's *The Nestorian Monument in China* (London, 1916), the revised edition of Colonel Henry Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither*, by Henri Cordier (London, Hakluyt Society, 1913-1916, 4 vols.), and John F. Baddeley's *Russia, Mongolia, China, being some Record of the Relations between them from the beginning of the XVII. Century to the Death of the Tsar Alexei Mikhailovitch* (London, Macmillan, 1919, 2 vols.). Professor Sacki's work not only reproduces the text of the famous monument and gives us a fresh translation of it, but provides us with many interesting notes, and discloses more clearly than has previously been done the co-operation of Buddhists and the early Nestorians and the use by the latter of many Buddhist terms. The new edition of Yule's famous work brings the notes down to date and adds enough to our knowledge to cause the edition definitely to supersede the earlier one. It has been supplemented by an additional volume of notes by M. Cordier<sup>7</sup> which adds definitely to the value of the work. The sumptuous volumes by Mr. Baddeley are made up chiefly of early maps of northern Asia and of narratives of envoys sent by the czars, or their representatives in Siberia, to the Kalmuk and Mongol princes and to the emperors of China.

The works on China during the nineteenth and particularly during the twentieth century are, as might be expected, numerous. E. Backhouse and J. O. P. Bland add to their *China under the Empress Dowager* a volume called *Annals and Memoirs*

<sup>7</sup> Henri Cordier, *Ser Marco Polo: Notes and Addenda to Sir Henry Yule's Edition, containing the Results of Recent Research and Discovery* (New York, Scribners, 1920).

of the Court of Peking (Boston, 1914), a kind of chamber of horrors and narrative of palace intrigues covering various periods from the sixteenth to the twentieth century. J. O. P. Bland also gives us in the *Makers of the Nineteenth Century* series a biography of Li Hung Chang (London and New York, 1917) which is no more readable but is infinitely more reliable than the spurious *Memoirs of Li Hung Chang* which appeared in 1913. Bishop J. W. Bashford, in *China, an Interpretation* (Abingdon Press, New York, 1916), produced a volume which covered a wide variety of topics, historical and other, and which, while largely the result of wide reading in the works of others, and while not making any unique or particularly striking contribution to our knowledge, is still in part the product of extensive travel and excellent opportunities for observation, throws much valuable light upon the earlier years of the republic, and presents an interesting and constructive point of view. A really noteworthy work, and one which must long remain of standard quality for reference purposes, is Hosea Ballou Morse, *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, volumes II. and III. (London, 1918). The first volume appeared in 1910 and covered the years from 1834 to 1860. The last two volumes bring the story down to the republic (1911). The author, an American by birth, and a graduate of Harvard, was for many years a member of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service, and has already produced such valuable works as *The Trade and Administration of the Chinese Empire*,<sup>\*</sup> *The Currency of China*, and *The Gilds of China*. He has been in retirement for over ten years and has devoted much of his time to the two volumes which have so recently appeared. Coming from a member of the customs staff they have much to say of that remarkable piece of administrative machinery which was built up by Sir Robert Hart. They devote most of their space to the official relations of China with other powers and have only incidentally to do with the other phases of her contact with the Occident. Even within their chosen field they do not tell the entire story and have by no means spoken the last or the fullest word on their subject. They are, however, of very great value and the historical world is much indebted to their author for them. When the history of Western intercourse with China is written as it should be, Mr. Morse's volumes will be superseded, but they will, in the meantime, have proved invaluable to the authors of the volumes that will

\* The third revised edition of the book has appeared, published in London by Longmans, in 1921.

have supplanted them. Another noteworthy work just appearing is by John V. A. MacMurray, *Treaties and Agreements with and concerning China, 1894-1919* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1921, 2 vols.). The publication of these two large volumes has been made possible by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Nothing nearly so full has appeared for the years covered, and all students of China and foreign relations owe a debt of gratitude to this member of our diplomatic service and will look forward eagerly to other books by him.

The missionary enterprise, which is so important a phase of Western intercourse with China, gives rise to a constant stream of literature. Most of this, while valuable source-material, is not historical in its purpose. Some excellent volumes of biography and history have recently been produced, however, and cannot be ignored by the student who would understand the China of the past sixty years. The most important of these are Timothy Richard, *Forty-Five Years in China* (New York, 1916), the autobiography of a remarkable man who touched Chinese life effectively and beneficently from many angles; Marshall Broomhall, *The Jubilee Story of the China Inland Mission* (Philadelphia and Toronto, 1915), a sympathetic, interesting, and careful account of the first fifty years of the organization which made it its business to form the vanguard of Protestantism in China and which maintains the largest body of missionaries of any Protestant agency at work in China; and Dr. and Mrs. Howard Taylor's *Life of Hudson Taylor and the China Inland Mission* (London, 1919), a biography of the founder of the China Inland Mission, which is accurate, but which is rather too detailed for the general reader, and is pervaded by what will seem to many an exaggerated and obtrusive piety. It is fitting that Hudson Taylor's work should be well commemorated. No other leader has so profoundly affected Protestant missions in China, and this is all the more remarkable when one remembers that during much of his life Dr. Taylor was an invalid or semi-invalid, and that the organization which he founded, while it eventually supported more missionaries than any other single Christian body operating in China, was undenominational and so did not have the support of any previously existing religious group. The fact that to many Dr. Taylor's outlook on life will seem to be that of a decidedly narrow evangelical, should never blind the historian to the magnitude of his achievement. Few Westerners have so profoundly influenced China.

Of the many volumes which have appeared on recent events only a few deserve the careful attention of the serious historian. Stanley K. Hornbeck, in his *Contemporary Politics in the Far East* (New York, 1916), has given us one of our best and fairest accounts of events in China during the five years that preceded the publication of his volume. His interpretations are clear and usually sound and his documents and other materials are well chosen. The views of Thomas F. Millard, the energetic editor of the weekly review which bears his name, are well known. One expects, then, that in his volumes there will be nothing which can be justly accused of being pro-Japanese, and one is not surprised to find that his two latest volumes, *Our Eastern Question* (New York, Century Company, 1916), and *Democracy and the Eastern Question* (New York, Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1919), are very frankly declamatory against the Island Empire. They are, moreover, written in a style which is not easy reading and are too largely made up of quotations culled with a partizan purpose. In spite of these defects the volumes are not without a certain value and as illustrations of a particular point of view must long be important as source-material. B. L. Putnam Weale can also never be accused of being unbiased. Like those of Millard, his works are controversial and journalistic and are not to be regarded as judicially and carefully written history. Also like Millard's books, however, they derive a certain value from their documents and from their author's intimate knowledge of Chinese political and diplomatic events. Consequently *The Fight for the Republic in China* (New York, Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1917), and *The Truth about China and Japan* (*ibid.*, 1919), deserve the reading of all historians interested in the Far East for the light they throw both on events and on the opinions of Europeans and Americans who are resident in China. W. Reginald Wheeler's *China and the World War* (Macmillan, 1918), while not nearly as large as these other volumes, is the fairest and clearest account of the period which it covers. No better in its general tone than Dr. Hornbeck's volume, it brings the story more nearly down to the present day. It will be superseded as our knowledge of the events it narrates becomes fuller, but it is at present our best brief guide through the maze of the war years in China.

One cannot close a survey of this nature without expressing a wish that Western and especially American historians would give more attention to China. Here is a fifth of the human race,

whose future is closely tied up with that of the rest of the world and for whose past there are excellent records for at least three thousand years, fuller, probably, than are those of any other section of mankind for a similar period. Yet, while much excellent work has been done, China's history is a field comparatively untouched by scholars trained in modern methods. Here are a need and an opportunity, and it is to be hoped that such work as has appeared in the past seven years will prove an additional stimulus to Occidental scholars to delve more extensively into China's past, both remote and recent, and to help to interpret it to the Chinese and to the world.

KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE.

## CHINESE HISTORICAL SOURCES

THE Chinese have the longest and most continuous historical records of any existing nation. Possibly the ancient Egyptians might once have rivalled them, but certainly no other people, ancient or modern. From the sixth century before Christ until the present time, historical records of unsurpassed completeness tell the story of the greatest civilization of Asia.

China might very properly be called the paradise of the historian, since for ages the leadership of the empire has been in the hands of men deeply grounded in the history of their country. Confucius (born B.C. 551) edited the Book of History (*Shu Ching*), one of the five classics, covering the period from the twenty-fourth to the eighth centuries B.C.<sup>1</sup> and himself wrote the Spring and Autumn Annals (*Ch'un Ch'iu*), another of the five classics, which details the principal events of his native state, Lu, from 722 to 484 B.C.

Ssu-ma Ch'ien (born B.C. 145), the father of Chinese history in the modern sense, wrote the Historical Record (*Shih Chi*) covering the history of China from the earliest recorded times down to 122 B.C., a period of more than three thousand years.<sup>2</sup> This work has been the model for all subsequent official histories of the Chinese dynasties, of which there are twenty-four, including the Historical Record of Ssu-ma Ch'ien. The Dynastic Histories, properly so called, begin with the Book of the Former Han by

<sup>1</sup> The Book of History has been translated into English three times. The first translation, by W. H. Medhurst, was published in Shanghai in 1846; the second, by Dr. James Legge, was published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, in 1878. These two translations give also the original text in Chinese characters. The third translation, by Walter G. Old, was completed in 1878. It was reprinted later by John Lane (New York) and Murray (London).

There is also a French translation entitled *Le Chou-king*, etc., by Father Gaubil, revised and corrected by De Guignes, and published in Paris in 1720.

Dr. Legge's translation contains in the prolegomena a translation of the Annals of the Bamboo Books, an ancient record covering the period from the oldest times down to B.C. 299.

<sup>2</sup> The *Shih Chi* of Ssu-ma Ch'ien has been translated by the famous sinologist E. Chavannes, under the title *Les Mémoires Historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, traduits et annotés par Edouard Chavannes, and published at Paris by Ernest Leroux. Of the one hundred and thirty chapters, vols. I.-V., 1891-1905, with 3052 pages in all, covers chs. I.-XLVII.

Pan Ku (completed after his death by his gifted sister, Pan Chao), covering the period from B.C. 206 to A.D. 24.

The last of the twenty-four official Dynastic Histories to be issued was the Ming History (*Ming Shih*) by Chang Ting-yü covering the period from 1368 to 1643 A.D., and submitted to the emperor in 1742, just a century after the fall of the Ming dynasty. Five years later, in 1747, the Twenty-Four Dynastic Histories of China were issued in an uniform series of which Professor Herbert Giles in his *History of Chinese Literature* says they "show a record such as can be produced by no other country in the world".

Several other uniform series of the Dynastic Histories were issued before this. During the Ming dynasty the Twenty-One Dynastic Histories were published and still may be purchased in China.

The Twenty-Four Dynastic Histories have been reprinted in photographic facsimile by the Commercial Press, at Shanghai, and so are obtainable without difficulty. This reprint is bound in 711 volumes of the Chinese style.

The Dynastic Histories are very voluminous and are rather historical material than histories in the Western sense. They contain, in addition to a vast number of documents, biographies of famous men and even notices of famous books published during each dynasty.<sup>3</sup>

It is a noteworthy proof of the stability of the civilization of the Chinese and their high regard for historical accuracy that official censors have for ages commented freely on every action of the emperor and of the great governing boards of the central government without any fear of punishment. These censors'

<sup>3</sup> A good idea of the character and arrangement of the matter contained in a dynastic history is given by Bretschneider's account of the *Yüan Shih* or official record of the Mongol dynasty in his *Mediaeval Researches*. This work, like Yule's famous edition of Marco Polo's travels (see full citations at the end of this article), gives a vivid picture of life in China at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries. It should be noted that in many ways the contacts of Europeans with China were closer during the *Yüan* dynasty than at any time before or since. Regular trade routes existed between Europe and China frequented not only by merchants but by adventurers, missionaries, scholars, and envoys as well. The Mongol empire covered all eastern, central, and northern Asia and extended far into Europe; the emperors were always ready to take into their service talented Westerners such as Marco Polo. As a result of all this the Great Khans of Cathay loomed large in the minds of contemporary Europeans and their fame persisted long after the downfall of the *Yüan* dynasty, as witness the efforts of Columbus shortly after reaching the New World to send envoys to the Great Khan a full century and a quarter after the accession of the Ming emperors—in China!



records furnish a very necessary commentary on the official activities, and are religiously preserved for use when the dynastic history is written.

Still more interesting and significant is the fact that only after a dynasty falls is the official history compiled. Shortly after the fall of the Manchu (Ch'ing) dynasty ten years ago, Chao Erh-shün, former viceroy of Manchuria, was appointed official historiographer of the Ch'ing dynasty. He is to-day, with a few chief assistants and about sixty good scholars, going over the censors' records and archives as well as the printed reports of the Manchu dynasty in order to prepare the *Ch'ing Shih* or Manchu Dynastic History. It was my privilege, by invitation of Chao Erh-shün, to see at Peking in October, 1918, the scholars at work on this great history. Hundreds of volumes of the censors' records that formerly at the end of each year were carried off in state to the old Manchu capital at Mukden had been brought back to Peking and were piled on long tables. The volumes when opened often showed strips of paper covering up some or all of the lines or columns of characters. These strips were pasted down at the two ends only and could be lifted up, revealing the characters written underneath. I was told that such discreetly concealed passages contained adverse criticism of the emperor or powerful personages and were in this manner concealed from the chance gaze of any one accidentally seeing an open page of the book.

The last great Dynastic History to be finished, the *Ming Shih*, was ordered compiled in 1679, thirty-six years after the fall of the Ming dynasty. Fifty-eight scholars were appointed to compile it. It was not finished and laid before the emperor until sixty-three years later, in 1742. It is probable that the Dynastic History of the Manchu dynasty now being compiled will be finished more promptly. At any rate it is likely to be the last of its kind. It is devoutly to be hoped that the censors' records will be preserved for posterity. The censors have ceased to function under the republic. The fear of the verdict of the censors and of the dynastic history doubtless kept many a Chinese monarch from unjust and ill-considered acts.

Even the most cursory perusal of Chinese state documents and imperial edicts will show how powerful the pressure was to force conformity to the supposed lessons of history. The great reformer and innovator, Wang An-shih (1021-1086 A.D.), who lived during the Sung dynasty, was even accused by his enemies of having

published perverted commentaries on ancient history in order more easily to gain credence for his doctrines.

Besides the Dynastic Histories, Chinese bibliographers recognize fourteen other main classes and many subclasses of historical works. One of the most important of these classes is that of the Annals, of which the Spring and Autumn Classic of Confucius is a model. The most comprehensive and best known of these works is the Mirror of History, by Ssu-ma Kuang, who lived from 1019 to 1086 A.D., during the Sung dynasty. He published five works in all, of a very voluminous character, the main work covering Chinese history from the beginning of the fourth century B.C. to the middle of the tenth century A.D. The great critic and philosopher Chu Hsi and his pupils rearranged and condensed these works to fifty-nine books under the title *T'ung Chien Kang Mu*, and published it in 1172 A.D. Many subsequent editions and supplements of this work, which is still considered the standard history of China, have been published.\*

Minor historical works are almost innumerable in China and it is no exaggeration to say that a strong historical sense pervades all branches of Chinese literature. As a striking example of this may be taken the official gazetteers that have attained in China a development unknown in other countries. China as a whole, and every province, every prefecture, and almost every district, has an official gazetteer. There are eighteen provinces in China proper, about 300 prefectures, and some 1700 districts. The provincial and prefectural gazetteers are often very voluminous works, and even the smallest official gazetteers, the *Hsien Chih*, or district annals, often contain ten to twenty or more books, frequently bound in as many volumes.

The gazetteers give maps, accounts of the topography, mountains, rivers, and other natural features of the region they cover, discuss the products and industries, and then give in much detail the history of the region, with notices of celebrated men and famous

\*The *T'ung Chien Kang Mu* of Ssu-ma Kuang as revised by Chu Hsi was translated into French by Father Mailla (Joseph Ann Marie de Moyriac de Mailla), a missionary at Peking from 1702 to 1748, and published at Paris by the Abbé Grosier, in thirteen quarto volumes, 1777-1778, under the title *Histoire Générale de la Chine ou Annales de cet Empire, traduits du Tong-Kien-Kang-Mou*. The translation of the *T'ung Chien Kang Mu* (a late and supplemented edition running up to the end of the Yüan dynasty) occupies vols. I.-IX., a total of 5276 pages, including 200 pages of preface and introduction. No Chinese characters are given. An Italian translation, made from the French edition and entitled, *Storia Generale della Cina*, in 35 octavo volumes, was published at Siena, 1777-1781.

books they have written, and much other information, some of it often fantastic to our ears but very like the medieval European chronicles. Such gazetteers are usually rewritten every fifty or one hundred years and some have been revised as many as ten or twelve times. (The gazetteer of Kiangyin district, *Kiang Yin Hsien Chih*, was first published in 1194 A.D., and the fifteenth revision was issued in 1840. At least one, and possibly more additional revisions have been issued since.) These works, published locally, are of the greatest value in any detailed work on the history of any phase of Chinese civilization.

Besides the official gazetteers of administrative regions of various ranks, there are numerous unofficial gazetteers of mountains, islands, lakes, etc. I estimate that in all probably about 2500 different regions have been covered by gazetteers and that over 10,000 different revisions have been published during the past five hundred years, probably in at least 100,000 volumes.

Few people have any adequate idea of the great volume of Chinese printed books. Printing began in the sixth century A.D., but printed books did not supersede manuscripts until about the middle of the tenth century, about five hundred years before Gutenberg set up his printing-press. For five hundred years all the printed books in the world, and these were many and valuable, were issued in China. For three centuries, from 1450 A.D. to 1750 A.D., the books printed in China probably exceeded in number those issued by all the rest of the world taken together, and doubtless up to 1850 or even later more books were printed in China than in any other country in the world.

Very many works, some of them of the highest value, have been lost in China, and the rapid changes now in progress there make it probable that the next few decades will witness the loss of a large part of these books unless Western scholars awake to a realization of their value and by exhibiting intelligent interest in the great literary monuments of Chinese greatness bring the new leaders of China, the students with Western education, to appreciate more than they now do the priceless heritage of their country's past.

The very number, variety, and bulk of the Chinese historical records, as well as their inaccessibility and the difficulties in abstracting or translating them, have operated to prevent up to now the writing of good histories of China in foreign languages.

There are three noteworthy collections and several fairly good

smaller collections of Chinese books available to students in this country. The Newberry Library of Chicago contains a large and well-selected collection of Chinese books on history, religion, belles-lettres, etc. An equally large complementary collection of Chinese books on science, industries, arts, etc., is in the John Crerar Library of the same city. Both collections were purchased in China by Dr. Berthold Laufer, of the Field Museum of Chicago.

A still larger collection is found in the Library of Congress, where, thanks to generous donations by the Chinese government, and to systematic purchases made by Dr. Herbert Putnam during the last ten years, the collection is now in many fields the best outside of the Orient and in some few probably better than any outside of China. As a whole the collection is easily one of the two or three best to be found outside of the Orient. Historical works are richly represented and are being continually added. The collection of Dynastic Histories, of Annals, and of minor histories is very good, and the biographical works are without a rival in Western countries. The collection of gazetteers is so large that it would be noteworthy even in China, and probably exceeds any single collection to be found outside of China.

The Library of Congress collection is particularly rich in historical works and encyclopedias printed during the second half of the Ming dynasty. These are of great interest because they give the Chinese records of the advent of Europeans by the sea route, initiated by the arrival of the Portuguese off the coast of South China in 1517.

Besides the great collections of Chinese books in the Library of Congress at Washington and in the Newberry and John Crerar libraries of Chicago, there is a large Chinese library in the University of California at Berkeley, and a fair-sized one in Columbia University, New York City. The New York Public Library has James Legge's Chinese library, and the American Museum of Natural History in the same city has a small but select collection. Yale University has a collection of Chinese works filed with the Far-Eastern books, and the University of Pennsylvania a small collection of Chinese works, but not as yet adequately indexed. The Museum of Fine Arts at Boston has a very well-indexed collection of Chinese works on the fine arts.

The Chinese civilization is the oldest existing in the world and unlike the European it has had no dark ages. Because of the high emphasis placed on the family institutions by the Chinese law

and custom and because the examination system opened the door to talent wherever found, there being no hereditary aristocracy to monopolize the higher offices, the Chinese state was practically permanent. China has been a great experimental laboratory in governmental and sociological methods. Well-read Chinese scholars can usually cite from the rich store of Chinese history the results of carefully conducted and well-recorded trials of most of our modern political and sociological prescriptions.

It should be said that the help of the old scholars steeped in the lore of ancient China is indispensable to a correct understanding of Chinese literature, which, because of the wealth of historical and mythological allusions, is often difficult for a Western scholar to read. The abolition of the old-style examination system in 1906 cut off the supply of these old scholars, so it is to be hoped that Western investigators will, before it is too late, arrange to co-operate with their Chinese colleagues in an attempt to render available to the whole world the vast stores of human experience now locked up in the literature and traditions of China.

There can be no doubt that the West has as much to learn from China as it has to give to China. By the accident of position America is China's next-door neighbor—the Pacific Ocean is no longer a barrier but rather a gateway to China. All competent observers agree that our relations with the Far East are bound to become increasingly important in the near future. Should not then the scholars of this country instead of being far behind their colleagues of Europe in their knowledge of China and her neighbors, take their proper place as the leaders in the world history of the future, which can no longer ignore any country or any race?

WALTER T. SWINGLE.

#### APPENDIX

As a guide to the principal historical works on China, both native and foreign, the following books, in addition to those cited above in foot-notes, will be found useful:

Alexander Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, second ed. (Shanghai, American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1902, pp. xxxix, 307). Brief notices of some two thousand Chinese books. Titles given also in Chinese characters. Written 1867. In the introduction, pp. 24-37, is an annotated list of 141 translations from Chinese into European languages, up to 1867.

William F. Mayers, *The Chinese Reader's Manual*, reprint from ed. of 1874 (Shanghai, American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1910, pp. xvi, 444). Brief notices of the lives of about 900 of the chief personages of China. Names given in Chinese characters.

Herbert A. Giles, *Chinese Biographical Dictionary* (London, Quaritch, 1898, pp. xii, 1022). Biographical sketches of 2379 famous Chinese historical or mythological personages. Names given in Chinese characters.

Herbert A. Giles, *A History of Chinese Literature* (New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1901, pp. viii, 448). Notes and short translations from a few hundred of the chief Chinese works. No Chinese characters.

Friedrich Hirth, *The Ancient History of China to the End of the Ch'ou Dynasty* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1908, pp. xx, 383). Perhaps the most scholarly history of China yet published. Cites Western authorities but not Chinese. Based largely on the texts reprinted in the *Yi Shih* by Ma Su, first published in 1670 A.D., covering Chinese history down to B.C. 206.

Emil Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, etc. (London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd., reprinted, 1910, 2 vols., pp. xii, 334; x, 352). This is a reprint, with some additions, of the three papers following: I. "Notes on Chinese Mediaeval Travelers to the West", *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, vol. V., nos. 3, 4, 5, and 6, and vol. VI., nos. 1 and 2, August 1874-April 1875. Also reprinted, without change (Shanghai, American Presbyterian Press, 1875, pp. iii, 130). II. "Notes on the Mediaeval Geography and History of Central and Western Asia, drawn from Chinese and Mongol Writings and compared with Observations of Western Authors in the Middle Ages", *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, new series, vol. X., pp. 75-307. III. "Chinese Intercourse with the Countries of Central and Western Asia during the Fifteenth Century", *China Review*, Hongkong, vols. IV, and V., 101 pages in all. The best account yet published of the Chinese historical materials relating to the Yüan dynasty. The three original papers give Chinese characters for place and personal names, but these characters are omitted in *Mediaeval Researches*.

Sir Henry Yule, *The Book of Marco Polo, the Venetian, concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*. Third edition, revised throughout in the light of recent discoveries by Henri Cordier (London, John Murray, 1903, 2 vols., 1392 pages in all, 164 text cuts, 53 plates and maps). The best book on China yet published in English, replete with illuminating notes on all matters cognate to Marco Polo's journeys. (Marco Polo left Venice in 1271 and returned to Genoa a prisoner in 1298.)

Sir Henry Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither, being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China*. New edition, revised throughout in the light of recent discoveries by Henri Cordier. [Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, series II., nos. 33, 37, 38, 41.] (London, Hakluyt Society, 4 vols., 1379 pages in all, 8 text cuts, 7 plates and maps.) An admirable complement to Yule's *magnum opus* on Marco Polo.

Henri Cordier, *Ser Marco Polo: Notes and Addenda to Sir Henry Yule's Edition, containing the Results of Recent Research and Discovery* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920, pp. x, 161). Supplements the *Book of Marco Polo*.

Henri Cordier, *Bibliotheca Sinica, Dictionnaire Bibliographique des Ouvrages relatifs à l'Empire Chinois*, second ed. (Paris, E. Guilmoto, 1904-1908, 4 vols., with a total of 1654 pp. Cites titles of books and papers about China up to date of publication.

Henri Cordier, *Histoire Générale de la Chine et de ses Relations avec les Pays Étrangers depuis les Temps les plus anciens jusqu'à la Chute de la Dynastie Mandchoue* (Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1920, vols. I., II., III., pp. 374, 334, 428; the fourth and last volume is to appear in 1921). The latest and best general history of China. No Chinese characters are used.

Li Ung Bing, *Outlines of Chinese History* (Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1914, pp. iv, 664, 20). History of China in English written by a Chinese. Gives the modern "Young Chinese" and often prejudiced view of Chinese history. Chinese characters are given for the names of men and places. Many interesting facts given here are found in no other European language history of China.

Kenneth S. Latourette, *The Development of China* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1917, pp. xii, 274). A select bibliography of works on China, chiefly in English, is given on pp. 261-267.

Berthold Laufer, *Sino-Iranica: Chinese Contributions to the History of Civilization in Ancient Iran* [Publication no. 201, Field Museum of Natural History (Anthropological Series, vol. XV., no. 3)]. (Chicago, 1919, pp. iv, 446). A critical historical monograph in the best spirit of modern scholarship. The introduction and the copious foot-notes cite most of the historical researches on China that have appeared since the publication of Cordier's *Bibliotheca Sinica*. Chinese characters used freely.

Léon Wiegner, *La Chine à travers les Ages, Hommes et Choses* (Chihli, China, Sienhsien; Paris, A Challamel, 1920, pp. 548). An epitome of Chinese history, with many paragraphs translated from Chinese authors of all the dynasties. The learned Jesuit author, a doctor of medicine, has previously published studies on the two great religions of China, taoism and buddhism. The value of this work is greatly enhanced by a biographical index giving very brief notices of about 4500 names and a bibliographical index of about 1000 Chinese works. Chinese characters are used freely.



## DOCUMENTS

### *Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies, 1765, I.*

MR. ABEL DOYSIÉ, searching Paris archives under the general direction of Mr. Waldo G. Leland, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, was so fortunate as to discover the following journal in the archives of the Service Hydrographique de la Marine,<sup>1</sup> and, immediately appreciating its interest and importance, has placed it at the disposal of the *Review*. The manuscript consists of 79 unnumbered pages. Of these, the first 54 are a journal, in English, extending from December 4, 1764, to September 7, 1765. Page 55 contains only a memorandum in French. Pages 56-62 inclusive present, in French, a close equivalent of the English narrative through March 14, 1765. Pages 63-69 are a discussion, in French, of the American towns, especially Norfolk, Philadelphia, and New York, of their defenses, and of the degree of ease with which they might be attacked. Pages 70-79, not here printed, contain a series of comments, article by article, by the same writer, on someone's plans for the conquest of Jamaica from the English.

The writer was a Catholic, and apparently a Frenchman, indeed apparently an agent of the French government; but all efforts to identify him, both by careful investigations in the French archives and by consultation of books and manuscripts in this country, have thus far been unsuccessful, except that it has been demonstrated, from evidence in the French archives, that he was not M. de Pontleroy, whom Choiseul sent over to inspect the colonies in 1764. He seems to use English and French with nearly equal freedom, at any rate spells both about equally well. The manuscript is in the same hand throughout, with the same peculiarities of execution, such as the almost constant capitalizing of C, D, and E. But it appears that the journal we have was not the first manuscript, but is the result of subsequent copying. The installment now printed divides at the crossing of the Potomac. The journey to Annapolis, Philadelphia, and New York will be presented in the second installment, together with the notes on defenses.

While the remarks of this observant traveller have at many

<sup>1</sup> Vol. 76, no. 2.

points a considerable value, and are not unfairly to be compared to those of Burnaby, Anburey, and Lord Adam Gordon, the most interesting single matter in the journal is the writer's eye-witness account of the debate in the House of Burgesses of Virginia, May 30 and 31, 1765, on Patrick Henry's resolutions against the Stamp Act, and especially interesting is the writer's version of the celebrated passage in Henry's speech in which he made his interrupted comparison of George III. with Caesar and Charles I. It is a remarkable chance that further information respecting that debate should come to light, after this distance of time, from a source so unexpected.

It may be of interest to set forth the basis of our existing knowledge concerning that oft-quoted passage in Henry's speech. The first published account occurs in a private letter from Virginia, dated June 21, apparently not written by an eye-witness, which was published in extract in the *London Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, no. 11,363, Aug. 13, and was thence reprinted in *The General Advertiser for the New York Thursday's Gazette*, no. 1191, Oct. 31, 1765.<sup>2</sup> This anonymous writer says:

Mr. ——— has lately blazed out in the Assembly, where he compared ——— to a Tarquin, a Caesar, a Charles the First, threatening him with a Brutus, or an Oliver Cromwell; yet Mr. ——— was not sent to the Tower: but having prevailed to get some ridiculous violent Resolves passed, rode off in triumph, some of which Resolves were passed one day, and erased the next; and the G——, advised by the Council, thought proper to dissolve the Assembly.

The first statement published in any book seems to have been that of Gordon, who says,<sup>3</sup> "Upon reading these resolves [he no doubt means, upon the reading of these resolves] the Scotch gentlemen in the House cried out treason, etc. They were however adopted." John Burk, in the third volume of his *History of Virginia* (Petersburg, 1805),<sup>4</sup> reports the passage more fully, thus: "'Caesar', said he, 'had his Brutus, Charles his Cromwell, and (pausing) George the third (here a cry of treason, treason, was heard, supposed to issue from the chair, but with admirable presence of mind he proceeded) may profit by their examples. Sir, if this be treason,' continued he, 'make the most of it.'" But Burk also purports to give, as a quotation, an extended sketch of the

<sup>2</sup> The librarian of Yale College, Mr. Andrew Keogh, kindly favored the editor with a transcript of the article, from the New York newspaper preserved in that library. The *London Gazetteer*, since examined, reads the same. The matter of the resolves, to which the writer alludes, is discussed in note 84, below.

<sup>3</sup> *History of the Rise*, etc. (London, 1788), I. 170.

<sup>4</sup> Page 309.

speech, certainly apocryphal, and his account of the resolutions is so erroneous as to allow little authority to his narrative.

The classical account is that which was next published, namely, by William Wirt, in his *Life of Patrick Henry*. It runs as follows:<sup>5</sup>

It was in the midst of this magnificent debate, while he was descanting on the tyranny of the obnoxious act, that he exclaimed, in a voice of thunder, and with the look of a god, "Caesar had his Brutus — Charles the first, his Cromwell, and George the third — ('Treason!' cried the speaker — 'treason, treason', echoed from every part of the house. It was one of those trying moments which is decisive of character. Henry faltered not an instant; but rising to a loftier attitude, and fixing on the speaker an eye of the most determined fire, he finished his sentence with the firmest emphasis) — *may profit by their example*. If *this* be treason, make the most of it."

To this passage in his text, Wirt annexes the following footnote:

I had frequently heard the above anecdote of the cry of treason, but with such variations of the concluding words, that I began to doubt whether the whole might not be fiction. With a view to ascertain the truth, therefore, I submitted it to Mr. Jefferson, as it had been given to me by Judge Tyler, and this is his answer. "I well remember the cry of treason, the pause of Mr. Henry at the name of George III., and the presence of mind with which he closed his sentence, and baffled the charge vociferated." The incident, therefore, becomes authentic history.

Wirt's account is therefore given on the joint authority of John Tyler the elder and of Thomas Jefferson, both of whom heard the speech, standing side by side in the doorway between the house and the lobby,<sup>6</sup> the former a youth of eighteen, the latter of twenty-three. Jefferson in his autobiography refers to this account by Wirt for the details of the matter.<sup>7</sup> Apparently the account of these two eye-witnesses is confirmed in a manuscript letter to Wirt, by Paul Carrington, who also was an eye-witness, indeed a member of the house.<sup>8</sup>

Early in the nineteenth century Edmund Randolph (d. 1813) wrote a *History of Virginia*, which still remains in manuscript, in which he reports the language of the orator thus: "'Caesar had his Brutus, Charles the First, his Cromwell, and George the Third'—'Treason, Sir,' exclaimed the Speaker; to which Mr.

<sup>5</sup> I quote from the second edition (Philadelphia, 1818), p. 65, but I believe all editions read the same.

<sup>6</sup> Jefferson, *Writings* (ed. Ford), IX. 468.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 6. Wirt says that the speech given by Burk is apocryphal, and that he himself "has not been able to procure a single authentic trace of that speech, except the anecdote presently given in the text." *Patrick Henry*, p. 64.

<sup>8</sup> *Henry's Henry*, I. 86.

Henry instantly replied, 'and George the Third, may he never have either.'" <sup>9</sup> But Randolph of course did not hear the speech, and was indeed but a boy of twelve when it was made.

Governor Fauquier's letter to the Lords of Trade, June 5, 1765,<sup>10</sup> gives an account of the discussions, mentioning Henry, but not quoting. Commissary William Robinson, writing to the Bishop of London on August 12, 1765,<sup>11</sup> says of Henry, "He blazed out in a violent speech against the Authority of parliament and the King, comparing his Majesty to a Tarquin, a Caesar, and a Charles the First, and not sparing insinuations that he wished another Cromwell would arise." The mention of Tarquin and his Brutus, both in this letter of 1765 and in that which was printed in the London newspaper of that year, seems to show that they were included in Henry's comparison, though not remembered by Tyler and Jefferson.<sup>12</sup>

A photograph of the whole manuscript is in the office of the Reviewer.

Xbre<sup>13</sup> the 4th 1764.

Decbre 4. Sail'd from Tiberoon<sup>14</sup> for Jamaica with pasqual to whom I was Obliged to give Six and thirty pistoles.<sup>15</sup>

Dec. 6. met with a Droguer of Bul Bay<sup>16</sup> that Caryed myself and bagage to Kingston for three pistoles.

7th. arived at Kingston and took lodgeings at the widow Breons for a pistole a week.

Jan'y. 24, 1765. Sailed from port Royal In a sloop bound to Charles-town S. Carolina and to touch at the havana.

25. the west End<sup>17</sup> bore N W b N Dist about 10 leagues.

26. Do. bore E B N Dist about 10 leagues, lost sight thereof and steard about N W until the 30th at Sunset had sight of Cape Corientes.<sup>18</sup>

31st. at 3 afternoon Cape Corientes bore N B E Dist 3 miles. at 4 made the land tending away to Cape St. antonio,<sup>19</sup> at 11sd. Cape bore

<sup>9</sup> L. G. Tyler, *Letters and Times of the Tylers*, I. 56; M. C. Tyler, *Patrick Henry*, p. 65.

<sup>10</sup> Printed in Alexander H. Everett's life of Patrick Henry, Sparks's *American Biography*, second ser., I. 391-392; transcript in Lib. Cong., from C. O. 5: 1331, p. 70.

<sup>11</sup> Perry, *Papers relating to the History of the Church in Virginia*, p. 514.

<sup>12</sup> "Tarquin and Cacsar had each his Brutus", is the version given by George Bancroft, *History*, V. 277 (of original edition).

<sup>13</sup> December.

<sup>14</sup> At the southwestern extremity of Haiti.

<sup>15</sup> A pistole was at that time about equivalent to four dollars.

<sup>16</sup> Buff Bay is meant, a small place on the north coast of Jamaica. A drogher was a West Indian coasting vessel.

<sup>17</sup> Of Jamaica.

<sup>18</sup> The south cape of western Cuba.

<sup>19</sup> The westernmost cape of Cuba.

north Dist about 6 miles; both the Capes are low and flat having no remarkable Elevated lands about them, but some scattering trees.

*Feb'y the 1st.* at noon Cape St. antonio Bore S S E and the shoals to the Northward of the Cape N. W.

*2d.* at Day light began to discover the high lands to the Eastward of Cape St. antonio, at 8 in the m'g the wind Came to N N W in a squal and imadiately to N N E. a very hard gale and rain, we stood of[f] shore with Double reefd m. and f. s.<sup>20</sup>

*the 3d.* at 4 in the m'g Stood in Shore, the Sea very high blows hard. at noon had Sight of the land, which is high, at 3 Ev'g Stood of. the weather so thick and Dirty, Did not Judge safe to Keep in with the land.

*the 4th.* at 2 in the m'g Stood in shore until Day light. Saw the land, then Stood of. blows very hard. wind at N. E. under a Double reefd M. S. and Jib. at 6 in the E'g handed the Jib.

*the 5th.* the wind East stood in for the land at 2 in the m'g; at noon the weather Clear, had sight of the high land over porta porcas.<sup>21</sup> Continued to run in with the land until we Discovered a ledge of rocks which stretch to the N. E. of portaporcas, about a league of the land. at 5 Stood of shore.

*Feb'y the 6, 1765.* at three in the m'g Stood in shore. wind N E. at 11 made the land which was high and Cuts the Curenst set very strong to windward. at 5 Ev'g Stood of, a very hard gale and high Sea.

*the 7th.* Stood of all night under a double reefd m. s. at 4 m'g Stood in shore under the same Sail, at 4 Ev'g saw the aforementioned high lands. we wore and lay of. the sea Excessive rough. the vessel began to take Considerably, at 10 she Strained so Much we handed the main s. and set her tribble reefd f. s.

*the 8th.* at 4 m'g the f. s. split in the midle from head to foot. Set the Balanced<sup>22</sup> m. s. wind at E B N very hard indeed, head to the northward. all hands to mending the F. S. and the pump Continually a going.

*the 9th.* wind at East very hard. Stood in shore at m'g. at 9 bent f. s. towards Noon the weather Cleard up. Saw the land and observed 23d. 7. North latitude. the wind at E S E prety Moderate. stood of and on all night.

*the 10th.* at 8 m'g Saw the Bay of hunda<sup>23</sup> which seems to have a fine Entry. the Curenst set to windward very strong. at 3 Ev'g were a brest of La Cavagnos<sup>24</sup> which seems also to have a fare Entrance. litle winds. plying to windward all night. saw several fires on shore.

*the 11th.* at Day light were abrest of La Maria<sup>25</sup> out of which Came several small Craft loaded with timber for the King. the wind Coming to the Southward. at 10 m'g we had sight of the moro Castle.<sup>26</sup> at 1 Ev'g Came to an anchor after the usual seremonys of sending the Boat on

<sup>20</sup> Mainsail and foresail.

<sup>21</sup> The harbor at the mouth of Rio de Puercos, some twenty miles west of Bahia Honda.

<sup>22</sup> Meaning, apparently, balance-reefed.

<sup>23</sup> Bahia Honda.

<sup>24</sup> Cabañas.

<sup>25</sup> Mariel.

<sup>26</sup> Off the entrance of Havana harbor.

shore to the fort which kept us a long time; this is one of the finest harbours in the world, the moro Castle stands on a rock on the larbord side going in and the punto<sup>27</sup> oposite to it on the starbord side. the Entrance is a long neck in which two ships Can not go abreast.<sup>28</sup> when past this neck the harbour Extends itself to the right and left to hold any number of shiping of any size. ships of 900 tuns load and unload alongside the wharf. there were two 84 gun ships read[y] to launch in the Dock.<sup>29</sup> they have a very fine sawmil in which they work 24 saws at the same time, they also [have] great quantitys of timber Such as mahogony and Sedar, of the last they build all their ships. the Soil of this Island is Extremely rich and fertil but the inhabitants are too Indlent to reap the benefit therof. the town is large and regular, ful of inhabitants, the Climate is the healthiest of the west India Islands.

general oReily seems to have made other men of the spaniards here than they naturally are.<sup>30</sup> there was a general review of both regulars and militia which Could not be Distinguished one from the other, so well did the militia go thorough the Exercise, there was in all five thousand men under arms of which two thousand were regulars.

there is seventy thousand Chests of shugar made on this Island which Contain a thousd. weight Each, great quantitys of snuf, they have the finest fruit and green market here in any part of the west Indias.

this City is about two miles in circumference and Contains about 26 thousand inhabitants, the particular Commerce of the Island Consists in shugar, snuf, hides (which are rekoned very good), ginger, aloes, saseparilla, tortiss shel, and pearl which they have from other Islands; as to its general Commerce it is the rendezvous for all the ships, particularly from portobelo and la Vera Cruz, which return into Spain from the Indias so that there is frequently a good number of shiping in this port. while they ride here there is a fair kept on shore where they trade for imense sums; while the fleet is in the Bay provisons are very Dear on shore and mony so plenty that nothing Else is seen in the Streets hardly. the fleet sails generaly from hence thourough the Channel of bahama in the month of september and is the richest in the world. the smalpox took my negroe servant here which obliges to leave him in Charge with Doctor Grahame, and hjer a white servant whom general oreily had Discharged From his service.

*Saturday March the 2d, 1765.* Sailed from the havana at noon. wind South, weather thick and heavy, stearing N E haveing a pilot on bord, we took at this place.

<sup>27</sup> Punta del Castillo.

<sup>28</sup> The Spaniards in June, 1762, at the opening of the siege by Albemarle and Pocock, blocked the entrance by sinking three vessels there. Keppel's *Keppel*, I. 365; Fernández Duro, *Armada Española*, VII. 51.

<sup>29</sup> Probably the *Trinidad y San José*, 112, and the *San Rafael*, 80, partly destroyed on the stocks by the British at the end of their occupation (August, 1762-July, 1763) but rebuilt. Fernández Duro, VII. 114-118; Clowes, *The Royal Navy*, III. 257, 315.

<sup>30</sup> On the evacuation by the English in July, 1763, the Conde de Riela became governor-general, with Don Alejandro O'Reilly as second in command and inspector-general. An account of O'Reilly's prompt and effective reorganization of the military is given in Pezuela, *Historia de la Isla de Cuba*, III. 19-24.

*Sund. 3d.* at 6 this m'g had sight of the saw hill<sup>31</sup> to the Eastwd of the havana; the Eastermost part therof Bore South, Distance from the land about 8 leagues.

*Mondy. 4th.* at Daylight no land in sight. at noon light northerly winds. tacked to the westward.

*tuesday 5th.* light winds. at 4 Ev'g made the land about Cape florida.<sup>32</sup> at 6 put about, wind N Easterly.

*wednesday 6th.* wind N westerly. set all sail. at 6 Ev'g made the Isac rocks<sup>33</sup> bareing E B S about 3 leagues Dist. at 7 put about to the westward.

*thursday 7th.* at 6 m'g tacked. light winds and fare weather. at 9 Ev'g made the Isac rocks again. at 11 Ev'g the wind Comeing to the Eastward Crowded all sail.

*fryday 8th.* wind about E N E. stearing N B W. 6 Knots. a great Swel from the N. E.

*Saturday 9th.* light winds. saw a Sail standing to the southward. the Curenets Set to the north about 60 miles in the 24 hours until we got past the providence<sup>34</sup> then 24 miles, and next day when I imagin we were cut of Channel they were slack. at noon we observed 30.° 8' Latitude.

*Sunday 10th.* at 2 m'g Came to blow very hard at S. W. Dark thick weather. at 10 sounded seeing the water alterd but no grownd at 50 f.<sup>35</sup> we Expected to have fetched Georgia this Day where the Captn. promised me to put me on shore but we found the Curenets set us far to the westward of the rekonig, and impossible to fetch it therefore made for Charlestown. this Day observed 32° 34' latitud which is that of Charlestown, by which we were certain we could not fetch this place, so Made for Cape fair.<sup>36</sup> at 6 Ev'g sound 16 f. water, Course sand. at 10, 13f., fine white sand with b[1]jack spots. blows Excessive hard at W.S.W. at 11 Ev'g 11 f., black sand with Isinglass, at 12 lay too under f. s.<sup>37</sup> head in shore.

*monday 11th.* at one m'g sounded 11fm. at 2 saw Brakers all round us. Sounded two ½ fm. wore imadiately and luckyly we did not touch. if we had we should have perished inevitably. we steard East of the shoals and were soon in 11f. water. From this wrun 24 miles N B E and observed 33° 53' latitude which shews we were on Cape fear shoals Commonly Called the Fryingpan being one of the most Dangerous on the Coast; it blows so hard obliged to lay too under a Balanced main S. and all hands to the pump. Drifted of to 17 f. water.

*tuesday 12th.* Continues to blow very [hard]. wind at N W. under a

<sup>31</sup> Monteserrata?

<sup>32</sup> At the southeast extremity of Florida.

<sup>33</sup> Great Isaac and Little Isaac are rocks at the northwest of the Bahamas, near Bemini, and about 70 miles northeast of Cape Florida.

<sup>34</sup> Meaning, past the Northwest Providence Strait. Lord Adam Gordon reports, November, 1764, "In latitude 28 deg. and 30 Min. lies the North end of the great Bahama Bank, and beyond that Latitude the current will hustle you both to the Eastward and Northward, Surprizingly." Mereness, *Travels in the American Colonies*, p. 390.

<sup>35</sup> Fathoms.

<sup>36</sup> Cape Fear.

<sup>37</sup> Foresail.

Balanced M. S. Sounded at Different times From 17 to 21 fm. latitude obsd.  $33^{\circ} 32'$  all this time out of Sight of land. at 10 Ev'g the wind began to modrate a litle. made sail to N N W. at 12 sounded 12 fm. at 1 m'g 10 fm. lay too head of shore.

wednesday 13th. at 5 m'g made sail. wind at S. W. smart breez. at 6 made the land. Distance about 4 leagues. all this coast is very low. at 8 were a brest of a place Call Beaufort. saw the Brakers on the bar<sup>38</sup> but not being acquainted we Continud to Cape lookout 12 miles farther; where we Came to an anchor at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  after 11 very lookily. for at 12 it Came to blow as hard as Ever, and Continued so from S W to W N W.

this Bay is very safe, there is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  fathom water at the Entrance and in the Bay. underneath is the figure and the right anchoring place.<sup>39</sup> you Keep the point on the right hand, on bord going in, and youl have  $3\frac{1}{2}$  fathom water, fine sand.

there is a very Dangerous shoal of the Cape which tends away S W. about 20 miles.

it Continued to blow so hard the remainder of this Day and all thursday that we Could not go on shore.

friday 15th. Set out from the vessel with my servant and portmante on his Sholder. we walked 7 miles to where there were some whale fishers tents, and got one of them to Cary us over the Sound<sup>40</sup> in their boat to Beaufort, a Small vilage not above 12 houses, the inhabitants seem miserable, they are very lasy and Indolent, they live mostly on fish and oisters, which they have here in great plenty. this harbour is Calld topsail inlet or Cor sound. Non but small vessels Can come here there being but 13 feet water on the bar at low water. the tide does not rise above 4 feet. the litle trade that is Caryed on here Consists in terpentine, tar and pitch. the first is made by Chiping the bark of one side of the tree about 3 feet from the ground; near the rout therof they make a hole to recive the terpentine as it Distils out of the Chiped part, which is taken out with a leadle and put into barels made for that purpose which are to hold thirty one galons and one half weighing 322 pds. the Cask or barel Included. [*In margin*: its said that one Negroe will tend 3000, which will rendr about 100 Barls. terpenin.] terpentine sels here now 8 sh'gs pr Bl. this Curency, which is Eaqual to 7 ss. philadelphia Cur'y.<sup>41</sup> terpintine is only made in the sumer time when the heat of the sun is suficient to force it out of the tree. when rain falls they are obliged to renew the inssion on the bark, otherwise the liquor would Not Distill from the tree.

there is also great quantitys of tarr and pitch raised in this part of the Country; indeed more than in any other part of america. tar requires

<sup>38</sup> The bar off Old Topsail Inlet. They seem to have anchored in a bay lying just inside Cape Lookout, on the west—"at Cape Lookout. . . . a small Harbour Landlocked from all Winds, and without it a very good road, the best and safest from the Capes of Virginia to Georgia". Governor Dobbs in 1762. *N. C. Col. Rec.*, VI. 608. The coast-line has since altered greatly, but in John Collet's map of North Carolina, 1770, it is shown precisely as in our traveller's sketch-map of his haven (see next note).

<sup>39</sup> A rough sketch-map follows in the manuscript.

<sup>40</sup> Core Sound.

<sup>41</sup> More exactly, 8s. North Carolina currency (= one dollar) equalled 7s. 6d. Pennsylvania currency.



a more Considerable apparatus, and much greater trouble than terpen-tine; they prepare a circular floor of Clay, well simented, Declining a litle towards the Center in the form of an Iron sugar boyler, from the botom of this is laid a pipe of wood, the uper part of which is even with the floor, and reaches 10 feet without the circumference; under the Ends the Earth is Dug away, and barrels placed to receive the tarr as it runs; upon the floor is built a large pile of pine wood (which is generally of old fallen pines and of the branches and knotty parts) raised Commonly to the hight of 10 or 12 feet and in the aforesaid form of a boyler, filled up with the pieces of split pine with the Ends slopeing or tending towards the basson in the Center, the whole is surrounded with a wall of Earth, leaving only a small opening at the top where the fire is first kindled. when the fire begins to burn they Cover this opening likewise to Confine the fire and hinder it from flaming out, and to leave only sufficient heat to force the tar Downwards to the floor. they temper the heat as they please, by running a Stick through the wall of Clay and giveing it air or vent. in this manner the outward Extremitiy of the wood burning the tar drops from the other part into the floor and is Con-ducted by the woodin pipe into the barrels, which are to Contain 31½ galons weighing 322 pds. the Cask included. this is als[o] the gauge for terpin-tine and pitch. this last is made by boiling it in an Iron kete or makeing a hole in the Ground in which the tar is put and set on fire and burns itself into pitch.

*Saturday March the 16th. 1765.* got horssees with great Difficulty for myself, servant and a guide, and rode through a Continual forest of pine trees, with narrow roads Cut in Diferent points of the Compas ( it would be necessary to have one to travel in this Country) untill we Came to a good Quakers 12 miles Dist. from Beaufort, where I lay this night. he makes spirits of terpen-tine and rosin.

*Sunday 17th Do.* Departed from the quakers Early in the morning for new Burn<sup>42</sup> and still the same thing today as yesterday, pine trees, In general terpen-tine walks, there is also oak and sipes and some sedr; there was here and there a small vilage and some litle farms Dispersd up and Down where they rais nothing but Indian Corn (of which they make their bread) and peas. the Soil all along very sandy and indiffer-ent, the land Extremly level and Even, not the least apearence of a Small hill, nor a stone to be Seen, but sea shels in plenty, which would seem to intimate that great part of Carolina was risen by the sands thrown up by the Sea to a Certain hight and then obliged itself to retire. the roads here must be very Dangerous in stormy weather by the falling of great Dead trees. the Inhabitants are obliged by an act of assembly to Cut them when once Dead<sup>43</sup> but they are not very punctual in the Execution therof. at 5 arived at trent river fery, a Small mile over to Newburn, which is to be the Capitol of north Carolina, as being best situated for that purpose;<sup>44</sup> it is the most sentrical town in the province, on a point

<sup>42</sup> Newbern.

<sup>43</sup> Statute of 1745, ch. 5, sects. 9, 10, 14, 24. N. C. State Records, XXIII. 223, 224, 226.

<sup>44</sup> Lieutenant-Governor Tryon, who was escorting Lord Adam Gordon through the province at just this time, and came into charge of the govern-ment by the death of Governor Dobbs on Mar. 28, writes on Apr. 1, "I spent two months in a Tour of this Province, and am determined in my opinion,

that separates the two rivers news and trent. the former runs up a Considerable way in the Country to the N. W. nearest, the latter towards the S. W. but not so far; neither of them are navigable for any else than flats or petiaugres<sup>45</sup> above the town, much to its advantage, as all the trade is thereby Carried on in the place. Vessels of two hundd. tuns Burden Can Come C[lose] to the town loaded, but there is a swash or flat insid of oacok barr,<sup>46</sup> on which there is but 9 foot water. when vessels Draw more than this quantity, they are obliged to lighten into flats and take in their goods when they are over the swash; the town is 70 miles from the Barr. the trade Consists in salt pork, some beef, Indian Corn, pitch, tarr, terpentine, spirits of terpentine, Rozin, rice, Dears skins, talow, hogs fat, mirtle wax, som tanned leather, lumber of all kinds and shingles, very good. there is plenty of saw mills in this Country set up at litle Expence. wherever there is water that they can raise to the height of 5 feet by means of a Dam or breastworks they Erect a mill, if there is a sufficient quantity of water; the wheels are undershot about 3½ foot Diameter and 10 or 12 in length, they are allways going, as the Contry is Cover with timber such as pitch pine, read, black, and white oak (the two first are very bad wood), some walnut, sipres and sedar, they are always well suplied. there is generally a tub mil for grinding their Corn at the same Dam. In the spring of the year, there is great quantitys of herin Caught in the Diferent rivers, also shad (which we Call allose<sup>47</sup> in france), Drum and sturgeon; they send this fish to the westindia Islands, and the parts of the Continent where is non Caught; there grows some wheat in this province, but in small quantity, the Soil not Suiting it. their bread is generally of Indian meal. the town Consists of about 100 houses and 500 Inhabitants. there is a good Church<sup>48</sup> and Courthouse.<sup>49</sup> this place is very unhealthy in the sumertime, as is all Carolina, much afflicted with feavors, which must be owing to the lands being very low and not Cleard of the wood, and the stagnateing waters of these great rivers where there is no tide or Curent but what is occasioned by the winds. on hot Calm Days youl see a thick scum on the water, which occasions a Disagreable stensh. at this time the fishes ly Dead on the water.

at the first settlement of Carolina (which is now Distinguished by North and South) it was granted by the King to private gentlemen (8 in number) who were Called proprietors, but it was by an act of parlem't redemanded and put under the protection of the Crown, Except the Earl of Granvilles eighth, which he still Enjoys. the other proprietors accepted of about 24000 £. the Indians back of this or these provinces are the Cherokees and Cataubas, with whom they are on a good footing, now. the Country is Intirely flat and level, 80 miles from the sea. the Carolinas is the only [province?] on the Continnt subject to huricaines. oranges and olives grow well in south Caro'a, of which that the Public Business of it can be carried on nowhere with so much conveniency and advantage to far the greatest part of the Inhabitants, as at New Bern." *N. C. Col. Records*, VI. 1320; VII. 2.

<sup>45</sup> Piraguas.

<sup>46</sup> At Ocracoke Inlet, leading into Pamlico Sound.

<sup>47</sup> Aloose.

<sup>48</sup> Christ Church.

<sup>49</sup> Acts of 1761, ch. 8. *N. C. Col. Records*, XXV. 462.

Charles town is the Capital, a very flourishing trading town. Indego and rice is now the great staple. its Chief produce formerly was in Bayers, which is intirely Destroyed, as well as in Canada, by the Encouragement the Indians received for killing them.

Dureing 5 Days that I stayd here we had Continual bad weather and very Cold.

*Saturday march the 23d 1765.* Set out from Newburn (where I eat my St. Patricks Dinner which lasted untill 4 next morning), took fery a mile from the town and Crossed News river, which is about 2 miles broad here, but full of shoals. saw several flats Coming Down with pitch and tar, Corn, shingles, etc. Came this night to Mrs. bonds fery oposit to bath town,

*Do 24th.* Crossd over to bath. the fery is three miles Including one mile up the Creek on which the town lies. bath is small having but litle or no trade. the vessels Can go 20 or 30 miles above the town. there are several vessels built here, and on other parts of this as well as on News river, but all small on account of the swash; the town in 80 miles from the Bar.

I went to weat on Colonel Pamer after Dinner, who is Colonel in the militia, Colector and surveyor general for this part of the province.<sup>50</sup> he invited me to spend the even'g with him, which I Complied with. he is very agreable scots gentleman. Dureing three Days that made here we spent most part of the time together; the produce, and trade here, is of the same nature as at Newburn.

*wednesday march the 27th 1765.* Set out from bath, Crossed through forests and uncultivated lands as before to this Difference, the Soil seems to beter gradually as I Come to the norwd., and a greater mixture of oak trees than hitherto. [*In margin:* Crossed Earl granvilles southern't bounds 3 miles to the norwd. of bath, from whence it Continues to virginia.]<sup>51</sup> Great troops or flocks of swine which run wild in the woods and feed on the pine seeds and acorns, which is their only food. it is not surprising that their pork is not so firm or good in any sheap<sup>52</sup> as to the norwd where they feed them with Corn etc. there is great plenty of Dear in this part of Country, but will soon Diminish, if they Continue Destroying as they do now, in season or out of season, male or female is all alike. I Dined this Day on venson stakes in a poor farmers house where I stopd for that purpose. bacon is the Chief suport of all the Inhabitants, when fishing is out of season. it is a Dainty Dish here tho ever so fat or rare. this night lay at Daylys fery on Roanok river.<sup>53</sup> this is the most Considerable of all the rivers Communicateing to Albemarle or Pamligouh sounds. with regard to its Extent back no body knows as yet how far it gos. it is three and four fathom Deep for 150 miles up in the Country. many ware houses and stores are along it. great part of

<sup>50</sup> Col. Robert Palmer, surveyor-general since 1753, member of the council 1764-1771, highly spoken of by Tryon. *N. C. Col. Records*, VII. 516, 535. He seems to have continued in office till the Revolution. In 1785 he was living in England, a Loyalist. Egerton, *Royal Commission on the Loyalists*, pp. 259, 393.

<sup>51</sup> Lord Granville's property embraced all of the province that was north of 35°34' N.

<sup>52</sup> Shape.

<sup>53</sup> A few miles below the present Plymouth, N. C.

the produce of the Country about this river in the back part is sent to virginia, where they meet with a beter market than they Could Expect in any part of their own province, on acct. of its bad navigation. it is Computed that 6000 hhds. of tobacco are sent from this part, to Petersbourg on James's river, virginia. there Comes a Considerable quantity of wheat and Corn Down this river, and about 3000 hhds. tobacco which is shiped at Edenton. the Soil along the Sides of this river is reckoned fertil and rich, which is owing to its yearly overflow, it has that in Common with the Nile In Egypt. but it is a Dangerous neighbour when in that state, for it sometimes rises 40 feet perpendicular and Caryl Every thing on its way, before it. it Covers great part of the adjacent Country as it is so very flat and level. the floods or freshes are generally in the End of septe'r and begining of octob'r. there are plenty of Iron mines in this part of the province but not yet worked; there is a very rich black lead mine In Bute County, near halifax, on Rogers mill Creek but not yet open'd. the lands back of the first of mountains, what they Commonly Call the blue ridge, are very rich, they are Inhabited by the scotch Irish, Germans, and Dutch, which were sent thither to Serve as a barière betwixt the lower settlers and the Indians; this, however, turned out otherwise, luckily for the poor wretches, that were sent there to be butchered; necessity, and the great Distance from any seaport, or town, obliged them to be industrious in rising all their necessities within themselves, and at the same time to be watchful of the Indians and secure their litle habitations with palisadoes and out works; the Soil answerd beyond their Expectations, in So much that it is at present the plentifullest part of america. they have all sorts of Catle, grain, roots, and fruits, buter, Chees, and beer of their own brewing. they manufacture their own aparel and have Everything In short, Except salt and Iron: they Drive great Drovers of Catle to the lower settlements, also butter, Chees and hemp which they Dispose of to advantage and a Considerable quantity of flower.

*friday march the 20th 1765.* I was obliged to remain heere two Days for want of horses and at length Crossed the river and walked to Cashia fery,<sup>54</sup> Crossed it and went to a farmers where I dined on good fat Bacon, greens, and Indian bread and had good sider to Drink. after Dinner he hied me to horses to mr Campbels on showan river 12 miles above Edenton for whom I had a letter of recomand'n.<sup>55</sup> [*In margin:* arrived at mr Campbels the 30th.] this gentleman is Justice of the peace, speaker of the assembly, in this Country, and a man generally Esteemed, and of the greatest property of any man in this part of the province; he received me with the greatest Civility possible, and notwithstanding all I could do, would not let me go from his house for a fortnight. Dureing which time he accompanied me to Different places; his house is pleasantly situated on the south side of showan river on a fine hil or eminence which [is] a rarity in this Country. the river is about two miles broad here altho 100 ms. from the Bar, and large sloopes and schoo[ners] go up 50 miles above this place; the river seperates into two

<sup>54</sup> Across Cashie River.

<sup>55</sup> John Campbell of Bertie, member of the assembly 1754-1760, 1769-1775, speaker 1754-1755, member of the first four provincial congresses, 1774-1776; "the most eminent trader in this province", says Governor Dobbs in 1760. *N. C. Col. Recs.*, VI. 286.

branches. Called Nattoway and Meharin,<sup>56</sup> this last is navigable far up in the Country. the vessels that go up it brings great quantitys of Corn, some Wheat and staves, which they Cary to the norward to Different parts. the Difficulty of the Bar makes all these Comodities sel Cheaper than else where; there is great quantitys of fish Caught In this river, especially herin and others as before mentiond.

*wednesday april the 3d.* Crossed the river with mr. Camphel to see his soninlaw Mr BrownRigg, an agreable gentleman.<sup>57</sup> in the afternoon walked out to his saw mills which are on a Creek Communicating to the river. this evening went to see the herin fishing. in an hours time they Caught about 100 barels with quantity of Rock, white perche and several other sorts.

*april the 5th 1765.* went with these two gentlemen to Edenton which was formerly the Capital of North Carolina. it is pleasantly situated on a point betwixt two Creeks Communicateing to showan river. there was a Dozen vessels, briggs, sloops and schooners here takeing in pork, pitch, tar, terpentine, wheat, and Corn etc. this town is not quit so large as newburn. it is looked on to be very sickly in the sumertime. the land from the town on the north side the river, Down to Curatuck sound, is very good, produces quantities of wheat, Corn, pork, and very good passturance. the bar hurts this place much. the back settlers on the river Roanoke and other places send their produce to Charlestown in south Carolina, and to petersburg, on James river, virg'a, where they get a beter price for them than here or in any porte in the province. the Chief of which are Cape fear, Newburn, etc. the former Governor mr Dobs resided at Cape fear, which was very unhandy to the Inhabitants, its being at the Extreimity of the province; they were Obliged to attend the Courts there, but the present lieutenantgov., Colonel tryan, intends to reside at Newburn, which is indeed the most suitable place. they are got into a method hereabouts, of making what they Call green tar, which is this; they Chip the pine trees of their bark about 8 feet from the root Downwards on which the terpentine falls imediately into the Chiped part. when it is well imbibed therewith they slice of the wood as far as it is imbibed and burn this in kills as the former. the tar is much thinner and beter. there is a bounty of 4 s. pr barl. on this kind of tar which is great encouragement.

by Computation, there is in this province from 25 to 30 thousand white taxables, or men from the age of 16 to 60 — whom are musterd 4 times a year as militia; there but very few if any rich people. their fortunes Consist generally in lands, which are for the most part uncultivated, and Consequently of no advantage or value for the present, but the Inhabitants augment fast. this province is the azilum of the Convicts that have served their time in virginia and maryland. when at liberty they all (or great part) Come to this part where they are not Known and settle here. it is a fine Country for poor people, but not for the rich.

*april the 7th.* went to halifax on Roanok river, where there was a

<sup>56</sup> Nottoway and Meherrin.

<sup>57</sup> Richard Brownrigg of Chowan, member of the assembly 1770-1771, d. 1771: "Mr. and Mrs. Brownrigg, whom you will soon find two of the best people in the world". H. E. McCulloh to Iredell, in McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, I. 30. "Rd. Brownriggs Saw Mill" is laid down on Collet's map.

Court held, where all the inhabitants of the adjacent Country Come, to Deside their lawsuits and other Differences. this was formerly a town of Some note, but is Dwindling away fast. the 8th Came back to mr. Cambels, who tels me that this province and south Carolina particularly abounds in nitre. [*In margin:* the extent of both Carolinas from S to N. is from 31° to 36° 30 latitd., its breadth to the Indian nations about 300 miles.] there are 32 Countys<sup>58</sup> in north Carolina, which are very large, they have Each their Court house, where they Assemble 4 times a year; the General Courts are held where the Governor resides.

*aipl. 12.* went to mr Brownriggs where I stayed three Days to strengthen two horses that I was obliged to buy, tho in very bad order, as is all this Country Cattle in the winter time, haveing nothing Else to live on but the moss that grows on the trees in the woods.

*aiptil the 15th.* Set out from mr Brownriggs, lay at mr Granburys,<sup>59</sup> to whom he gave me a letter; he is a farmer in good circumst's. this stage was 15 miles

*the 16th.* from mr Granburys to sufolk 18 miles, a small town on the head of Nanseum river,<sup>60</sup> non but small Craft can Come to it. I Crossed the Carolina and virginia bounds 8 miles from Granburys. there [are] 5 or 6 stores or properly speaking shops here, about 50 or 60 other houses, a prety Church, and Courthouse. this place is remarkable un-healthy in the sumer season, subject to feavors. the Country from mr. Granburys begins to look more inhabited.

*aiptil the 17th.* Set out for portsmouth which is 30 miles. Dined at Robertses ordinary. arrived at portsmouth at 6 in the Evening. the Country along something more open and Inhabited, but still very thick in wood, about 7 miles from Robertses Crossed the End of the Dismal swamp. this is a Considerable tract of land buried under water, there is a lake in the middle. this swamp is a harbour for all sorts of wild beasts, such as Bears, panthers, wolfs, and great quantity of serpents.

Portsmouth is situated on the west Side of Flizabeth river, oposite to Norfolk, which is on the East side and Capitale of a County of its name. Portsmouth is but lately settled. it has the advantage of norfolk haveing Deeper water of its side. ships of any Burden Can Come Close [to] the wharfs of which there are several very Convenient. norfolk on the other hand has been longer settled. it is the most Considerable town for trade and shiping In virginia. this harbour is very safe for ships of any Burthen. this is the only part of virginia where they build any thing of ships. the[y] have all the Conveniencies imaginable for that purpose. there is a fine ropery here, there are plenty of masts of all proportions to be had, and great quantitys are shiped of for all parts. Especially for the havana where they have a Contract for this article, there is a Smart trade Caried on from Norfolk to the wes[t] India I-lands. their exports Consists in pork, Corn, flower, Butter, Cheese, Candles, hogs fat, tallow, ham, Bacon, lumber of all kinds, shingles, Masts, Yards, and naval stores; hemp is very much encouraged now, in virginia, and grows to great perfection. Iron they have great plenty of, it is brought Down here from maryland, and sold at the rate of 10 ps.<sup>61</sup> p. tun.

<sup>58</sup> Twenty-six.

<sup>59</sup> Josiah Granberry, vestryman of St. Paul's parish. *N. C. Recs.*, VI. 241.

<sup>60</sup> Suffolk, Va., on Nansemond River, described in J. F. D. Smyth, *Tour*, II. 104-105, and in J. D. Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, II. 96-98.

<sup>61</sup> Pounds; its price in England at the time was about £7.

that is pig Iron. I look on this place to be one of the properest on the Continent for a King's port. as to the harbour non Can be beter, and the Country is well stoked with timber, they Can make their own Cordage, they have plenty of Iron and all Kinds of navall stores. this harbour is at the Entrance of the Bay, handy for all vessels going in or Comeing out, and Is a Centrical place on the Continent. the mouth of Elizabeth is on Jameses river, which gos very far in the Country (of this here-after). Elizabeth river is about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile broad betwixt the two towns (there is three fery boats Employed here) and seperates into Eastern branch, and Elizabeth. about two miles below Portsmouth on the Same side, is another branch Call'd the western branch, on which they build ships also. the water at Norfolk is bad, but very good at Portsmouth. both places are Chiefly Inhabited by scotch, all presbiterians and altho they are the most bigoted set of people in the world, they have no house of worship of their own. there is a Church in Each place, of the English Establishment.<sup>62</sup> from hence I wrote to mr Mifflin in philadelphia<sup>63</sup> for a supply of money being short, and as I am obliged to weat his answer. I went to Different parts of the Country by way of amusement In the meantime.

*april the 10th.* Dined today with andrew sprowl Esqr. the headman of Portsmouth.<sup>64</sup> he lives in a pleasant place seperated by a Creek from the town, his house gos by the name of gasporte.<sup>65</sup> he has a very fine wharf before his Door where the Kings ships generally heave Down. this gentleman is a merchant of great reputation.

*the 20th Do.* Dined with mr Guilchrist<sup>66</sup> at norfolk, who Introduced me to all the people of note there, which are, Colonel tucker,<sup>67</sup> mr Muter. Doctor Campbel,<sup>68</sup> mr hutchison, mr Jameson,<sup>69</sup> and several others. all these gentlemen are In trade. there being a Court at williamsburg, which begun the 10th of april and holds 24 Days, I set out for thence.

*april the 24th.* Set out for williamsburg In Company with andrew

<sup>62</sup> Trinity Church in Portsmouth, and St. Paul's in Norfolk.

<sup>63</sup> Samuel Mifflin, who figures more largely in later portions of this diary, was a merchant in Philadelphia, and a justice of the city court there; Governor Thomas Mifflin was his cousin's son.

<sup>64</sup> Some Tory letters, 1775, of Andrew Sprowel are in *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, XIV, 386-390.

<sup>65</sup> Gosport. In 1776 Gosport and all Sprowel's houses were burned by the Americans in retaliation for Lord Dunmore's burning of Norfolk. *William and Mary College Quarterly Magazine*, XV, 19. He and his family left Virginia in Dunmore's fleet. Force, *Am. Archives*, fifth ser., I, 152.

<sup>66</sup> John Gilchrist, merchant of Norfolk, accused of a bit of anti-British violence in 1766. *William and Mary College Quarterly*, XXI, 167.

<sup>67</sup> Col. Richard Tucker (d. 1767), member of the House of Burgesses in 1752 and 1753.

<sup>68</sup> Dr. Archibald Campbell, a Scotsman, afterward a Tory. There is an account of him and his Norfolk property in *Second Report of Archives of Ontario*, pp. 131-133. See also *Am. Archives*, fourth ser., IV, 86, 87, 103.

<sup>69</sup> Neil Jameson, a noted merchant and afterward a noted Tory, who went away with Dunmore in 1776. *Ibid.*, IV, 343-348 (letters from him), and fifth ser., I, 152; *American Manuscripts in Royal Institution*, I, 136. There is a full account of him and his property in *Second Report of Archives of Ontario*, pp. 630-634, 646, 721, 1311-1313.



sprowl Esqr. and several of the Norfolk Gentlemen. left my horses at the tavern where I lodge; we took boat and Crossed over to hampton where we Dined. this fery is 12 miles across. hampton is a small town of very litle trade, but the Navall and Colectors offices being here makes it more Considerable than it otherwise would be. it has no harbour. there is a bar Crosses it about 2 miles Dist. from the town, outside of which, ships that are bound up or Down Jameses river (on the North side of which this town is placed) Come to an anchor and take their Expeditions. small Craft Can go over this Bar and ly Close to the town.

from hampton to york 28 miles. here we lay. this is a fine situation and a very prety litle town Inhabited by some of the genteelst people In virginia, who have some very prety buildings here. it is on an Elevated spot of grownd by the side of the river to which it gives its name, on which it has a beautifull prospect. ships of any burthen Can Come here, and 40 miles farther up. there was at this time three large vessels rideing of here. this and hampton road are the general rendevous for the homeward bound ships. in war time there are on such occasions 100 sail of shipping to be seen here. the Country about here is very agreeable. there is a small town on the oposite side of the river Called Gloster, of no great note. its situation is also very pleasant. there was a great Deal of Company at our tavern this night, several Capns. of ships, looking for freight, others gathering their funds.

april the 25th. set out Early for williamsburg, 12 miles Distn. fine road and pleasant Country. at 9 arived at this Capitol, which at a Distance looks like a large town, but it is far from it and very Iregular haveing only one street which Can be Called so, which makes a very good apearance. it is very s[p]acious, has at one End the Capitolle, a very good building in the form of an Each,<sup>70</sup> the Court is held in one wing on the first floor, the assembly room is in the other wing on the Same floor, the Councill and Comitee Chambers are upstairs on the first story. oposite to this building at the further End of the street Is a very fine Colege, which makes a grand apearance.<sup>71</sup> halfway betwixt these Builds. is the Church on one side the street and the powder magazeen on the other. the Governors house is towards the Colege on its left a litle back from the main street. it is a Small but neat building, with a Cupula on the top.

on our arival we had great Difficulty to get lodgings but thanks to mr sprowl I got a room at mrs. vaubes's tavern,<sup>72</sup> where all the best people resorted. I soon got acquainted with severals of them, but particularly with Colonel Burd,<sup>73</sup> sir peton skiper,<sup>74</sup> Capt. Russel,<sup>75</sup> Capt. le foré, and

<sup>70</sup> Meaning, an H.

<sup>71</sup> The College of William and Mary.

<sup>72</sup> The tavern kept by Mrs. Jane Vobe (information from Dr. Lyon G. Tyler).

<sup>73</sup> Col. William Byrd the third (1728-1777), on whose dissipated character see Anburey, *Travels through the Interior Parts of America*, II, 328-329, and Bassett (ed.), *Writings of Col. William Byrd*, pp. lxxxvii-lxxxviii.

<sup>74</sup> Sir Peyton Skipwith, seventh baronet (d. 1805), who spent his life in Virginia. A gay letter of his is in *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, XXV, 190.

<sup>75</sup> Either that Capt. William Russell, of the Fairfax County militia, of whose conduct in the French and Indian War Governor Dinwiddie speaks so ill (*Letters to Washington*, ed. S. M. Hamilton, I, 267), or Capt. William Russell



others, which I soon was like to have had reason to repent, for they are all professed gamesters, Especially Colonel Burd, who is never happy but when he has the box and Dices in hand. this Gentleman from a man of the greatest property of any in america has reduced himself to that Degree by gameing, that few or nobody will Credit him for Ever so small a sum of money. he was obliged to sel 400 fine Negroes a few Days before my arival. there were many sets made at me to get me in for the box but I had the good look<sup>76</sup> to Keep Clear of it, but Could not avoid playing some rubers at whist notwithstanding my aversion to it.

there are two generall Courts held at this Capital of virginia Yearly, the one beginning on the 10th aipril, and holds 24 Days, the other on the 10th octob'r and holds 24 Days also. at these Courts they take Cognisance of all Suits and Causes whatsoever; there are besides these two Courts of oyer and terminer at which Criminall affaires are Examined. the[y] have besides these, County and Burough Courts which hold monthly in the Dift. Countys and Bur's at the County Courts Examine all Causes and when the partys Dont agree they apael to the General Court. the Burough Courts are for all affairs under 20 pounds value and Can go no farther. there Can be no Corporal punishment Inflicted on white people at any of the Inferior Courts. this is done by the superior Court at williamsburg.

*april the 28th.* I have been here three Days and am heartily sick of it. this morning hired a Chair and took a ride to Jameses City formerly the Capital of the province.<sup>77</sup> In Company with one mr Christy from baltimore In maryland who Is a looker on here as well as myself.<sup>78</sup> he is a merchant in the aforesaid place and Came to virginia to see the Country. Jamesestown is situated on a peninsula on the nort[h] side of Jameses or Powhatan river, 42 miles above its mouth; it Consists of about 70 houses. the Seat of government was here formerly but was Caryed to willamsburg on account of the unhealthyness of this place. some ships anchor of the town. after Dinner we Came back to williamsburg; there was a great number of people from all parts of the province and also the adjoining provinces, for this is time for Caring on business and settling maters with Correspondents. I supose there might be 5 or 6000 people here Dureing the Courts. it is Computed that the province Contains at present 130,000 taxables, from 16 to 60, that is to say the white men and slaves, the white men amount to 60,000 which is the militia body. they are musterd four times yearly. those that are absent from the generall musters without a leagal Cause are fined 10 shs., from private musters 5 shs. these are the laws but seldom put in Execution. never was a more Disagreeable place than this at present. In the Day time people hurying back and forwards from the Capitoll to the taverns, of Fincastle, in 1776 colonel of the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment. Afterward however he was colonel of the Fifth Virginia Regiment, served throughout the Revolution, and was made brigadier-general of Virginia militia. He married Patrick Henry's sister. Captain Le Foret seems to have been a connection of Colonel Byrd, and a Barbadian.

<sup>76</sup> Luck.

<sup>77</sup> Jamestown.

<sup>78</sup> Probably James Christie, whose prosecution for Toryism in 1775 is exhibited in *Maryland Archives*, XI. 44-52, and, under the name of "James C——", in Eddis's *Letters from America*, pp. 218, 228-229.

and at night, Carousing and Drinking In one Chamber and box and Dice in another, which Continues till morning Commonly. there is not a publick house in virginia but have their tables all bated with the boxes, which shews the Extravagant Disposition of the planters; there are many of them who have very great Estates, but are mostly at loss for Cash. they live very well having all the necessaries on their Estates in great plenty. Madeira wine and punch made with Jamaica rum Is their Chief Drink. there are no large towns in this province, by reason of the Convenience of its many navaigable rivers, by which ships go up to all parts of it to the planters Doors: the Chief of those reside Mostly on the Borders of James and York rivers which is the best soil for tobacco Especially the Sweet sented which is so much Esteemed in England, where they keep it for their own use, or what they Call home Consumption. the other sort Called aranoacke, is Exported to holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Germany.

the Common way of traffic here, is by bartering one Commodity for another, for which reason Coin is scarce. their Common Currency is paper, which it has in Common with the other provinces.

Notwithstanding the Great plenty of Excelent timber and Naval stores in virginia, yet they build but very few ships, altho the Country is one Continued harbour after Entering the Chessapeake Bay between the Capes henry and Charles.

the produce of the Soil is hemp, Indian Corn, flax, silk, Cotton, and great quanty of wild grapes, but tobacco is the staple Commodity of virginia; there is now a very Considerable bounty on hemp, from the Colonies, which makes many people quit the tobacco (which is now very low in England) to raise hemp. how that will answer time will tell.

the air in virginia Depending very much on the Winds is of various temperaments, for those from the North or N. W. are Extremely sharp and piercing while the S. and S. E. are hazy and sul[t]ry. the winter in this Country is Dry and Clear; the snow falls in great quantities, but seldom lies above a day or two; and the frost tho very keen is seldom of any long duration. the spring is something Earlyer than in England; may and June are pleasant; July and august sultry; September is noted for prodigious showers of rain.

towards the coast the land is low, and for an 100 m. back hardly a hill or stone to be seen. the Inhabitants are very Courteuous and hospitable. strangers are allways welcome and genteelly treated by them, which is a raison why the taverns are extravagantly Dear.

Virginia is Divided into 25 Counties and in these are 54 parishes,<sup>70</sup> 30 or 40 of which are suplyed with ministers and to each parish belongs a Church, with Chapels of Eas in such of them as are of large extent. In this Colony are only 2 presbiterian and 3 quaker meetings. the prevailing religion is the protestant, no romans allowed. the Countys are as follows, namely, Norfolk, princess Ann, Nansemond, Isle of Weight, Surry, henrico, Prince George, prince Charles, James County,<sup>70a</sup> York, Warwick, Elizabeth, New Kent, King and Queens County, Midlessex, Essex or rapahanock, Richmond, Stafford, westmoreland, lancaster, Northumberland, Accomack, and Northampton.

<sup>70</sup> There were 55 counties in Virginia at this time, and about 80 parishes. The number of Presbyterian meetings was also, of course, greater than is stated below.

<sup>70a</sup> Meaning, Charles City County and James City County.

the revenue from tobacco in Great Britain is esteemed to be about three hund'd thousand pd. sterling per annum. and the Greater part of the profits of exported tobacco Comes to the merchants, which brings nearly as great a sum every Year into the Kingdom, the whole weight falling on the planter, who is kept Down by the lowness of the original price and the Ext[r]avagance of the Charges.

how advantageous must this article be to Great Britain, for which the rest of Europe, Nearly, pays her ready money, besides 200 large vessels and a proportionable number of Seamen, which are occupied in this trade; from England, the virginians take every article for Convenience or ornament which they use, their own manufactures not being worth mentioning. this Colony has Exported some Years 63 th'd hhd. tobacco, which was the greatest, and at other times, not above 30 th'd has been exportd. the medium of the two, which is about 46 th'd hhd., is the quantity generally Exported. the number of Convicts and Indented servants imported to virginia [is] amazing, besides the numbers of Dutch and German which is also Considerable.

the Virginia Capes are the two headlands which form the Entrance of the great bay of Chesapeake, the Southern Cape henry and the northernmost Cape Charles. Chesapeake is a large Bay, along which both provinces of virginia and Maryland are situated. it begins at the above Capes and runs up 180 miles N. B. E. it is said to be 18 miles broad at the mouth, and 7 m. over at the bottom, which [is] above baltimore in Maryland. Into it fall several large naviguable rivers from the western shore, and a few smaller streams from the peninsula that Divides the Bay from the ocean, which is Commonly Called the Eastern shore.

Stayed at williamsburg until the 14th, when, mr. Christy and others, we set out to the Norfolk paket boat which lay oposite to hog Island on James river about 3 mile dist. from the City; here we all lay at a tavern, and next morning shipped our provisions, and bagage, and set sail.

*May the 15th.* the river is about 3 miles broad all along Down to Norfolk and several banks of sand here and which the pilots must be well acquainted with; large vessels can go up as far as City [Point(?)] where they generally ly. the general stores or ware houses are at petersbourg, where all the tobacco made up the Country is sent too, as also what is sent from the back parts of north Carolina. most of the great planters reside about Petersburg and blandford.<sup>80</sup>

*May the 16th.* arrived at 4 in the morning at Norfolk. Could not See much of the river Coming. being night. there are two pakets, schooners of about 30 tuns, which go twice a week to Williamsburg and back to norfolk.

*the 17th.* Stayed at norfolk (my lodgings are in portsmouth the situation being more agreable, the water much beter,). Dined with Colonel tucker, a very Clever old Gentleman. went Down to the Bay side with a good Company of Gentlemen and Ladys a seine hawling, where we Caught a great quantity of fish. the[re] was a Kings fregat lying at anchor at Cape henry, Capt Morgan,<sup>81</sup> who was stationed here to examin all vessels homward or outward, with an Entent to put a stop to their trade with highspaniola and all other french Islands. there are

<sup>80</sup> Close by Petersburg.

<sup>81</sup> The *Hornet*, Capt. Jere. Morgan. *William and Mary College Quarterly*, XXI. 163-165.

men of war and fregates stationed all along the Continent for the same purpose; it is said the government proposes to prohibit Distilling of molasses, which will be a great stroke [to] the Colonys if they really Do.

*the 19th Do.* went with another set of Company from portsmouth to see a ship launshed on the western Branche. as we were going along, I in a single Chaire, my horse took fright at something and galoped of the road into a field where there was a quantity of stumps of trees one of which overturned my Chaire. the horse going as fast as his heels Could carry him, I was pitched head foremost on another stump, which Cut my head and bruised my left shouldre very much. the horse Continued until he Brok the Chair to pieces. one of the Company took me in a Chair and put me Down at my lodgings. was blooded twice that Evening, notwithstandg the fevor took me and held me three days, but by Doctor Pursells help I was soon well.

*May the 20th.* havein[g] received two hundred pounds from Colonel tucker by order of mr. Mifflin. I set out for Williamsburg on my way to the Norward. as I was Crossing the fery from Norfolk to hampton I Saw three large ships and a brig coming by fort George, which is on point Comfort 3 miles from hampton. this was a pretty good fort formerly, but is now quite abandoned, the walls all fallen to pieces and the guns buried in the sand. the ships that Come into James river stear from Cape henry for this point and Come Close to it, the Channel obliging them thertoo.

I was obliged to hire a Chair [at] hampton, not being able to ride, my left arm and shoullder paid me so. lay at a tavern half way to York.

*May the 30th.* Set out Early from halfway house in the Chair and broke fast at York, arrived at williamsburg at 12, where I saw three Negroes hanging at the galous for haveing robbed Mr. Waltho<sup>82</sup> of 300 ps. I went immediately to the assembly which was seting, where I was entertained with very strong Debates Concerning Dutys that the parlement wants to lay on the american Colonys, which they Call or Stile stamp Dutys.<sup>83</sup> Shortly after I Came in one of the members stood up and said he had read that in former times tarquin and Julius had their Brutus, Charles had his Cromwell, and he Did not Doubt but some good american would stand up, in favour of his Country, but (says he) in a more moderate manner, and was going to Continue, when the speaker of the house rose and Said, he, the last that stood up had spoke traison, and was sorey to see that not one of the members of the house was loyal Enough to stop him, before he had gone so far. upon which the Same member stood up again (his name is henery) and said that if he had affronted the speaker, or the house, he was ready to ask pardon, and he would shew his loyalty to his majesty King G. the third, at the Expence of the last Drop of his blood, but what he had said must be attributed to the Interest of his Countrys Dying liberty which he had at heart, and the heat of passion might have lead him to have said something more than he intended, but, again, if he said any thing wrong, he begged the speaker and the houses pardon. some other Members stood up and backed him, on which that afaire was dropped.

*May the 31th.* I returned to the assembly today, and heard very hot

<sup>82</sup> Nathaniel Walthoe, clerk of the council.

<sup>83</sup> Concerning Henry's celebrated speech here reported, see the introduction prefixed to this document.

Debates stil about the Stamp Dutys. the whole house was for Entering resolves on the records but they Differed much with regard the Contents or purport therof. some were for shewing their resentment to the highest. one of the resolves that these proposed, was that any person that would offer to sustain that the parlement of Engl'd had a right to impose or lay any tax or Dutys whats'r on the american Colonys, without the Consent of the inhabitants therof. Should be looked upon as a traitor. and Deemed an Enemy to his Country.<sup>84</sup> there were some ôthers to the same purpose, and the majority was for Entering these resolves, upon which the Governor Dissolved the assembly, which hinderd their proceeding.

The Kings Berth Night<sup>85</sup> which was on the tuesday follow'g. was given by the lieutenant govenor mr. faquier.<sup>86</sup> I went there in Expectation of seeing a great Deal of Company, but was Disappointed for there was not above a Dozen of people. I came away before super.

wednesday June the 5th. Set out from williamsburg for Chiswells ord'y, Dist'n 15 miles.<sup>87</sup> the roads level but very dusty and sandy. from hence to New Kent Courthouse, 12 miles. here I lay. there was a very heavy shower this afternoon which set all the tobacco planters to work planting. there had been no rain for three months before in this part of the Country.

Do. 6th. From New Ken[t] Court house to New Castle 22 ms.<sup>88</sup> on pamunky river, one of the branches of York river, which seperates into

<sup>84</sup> This was the resolve which we may call no. 7, reckoning all that are quoted in any of the authorities. There has been much confusion in the matter, but it is set forth correctly (unless there is doubt as to the authorship of nos. 6 and 7) in M. C. Tyler's *Patrick Henry*, p. 67. Henry's own manuscript (*Henry's Henry*, I. 80) gives nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 as the resolutions offered by him and passed. The journal (*Journal*, 1761-1765, p. 360) gives nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 as passed. Campbell, *History of Virginia*, pp. 540, 541, 543, gives nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 as offered by Henry and passed, and says that two others were offered but not by him, but did not pass, that no. 5 was expunged on May 31, and that the *Virginia Gazette* published nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7 (*Henry's Henry*, I. 93, says nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7). Whether this last statement of Campbell is correct or not, the set published in the *Newport Mercury* of June 24 and the *Boston Gazette* of July 1 is 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7. Marshall, *Life of Washington* (1804), II., app., p. 26, gives (incorrectly) nos. 1, 2, 4, 5 as passed, and (correctly) nos. 6 and 7 as not passed; Burk, *History of Virginia* (1805), III, 306-307, does the same, both resting, apparently, on Almon's *Prior Documents*, pp. 6, 7. Almon says that nos. 6 and 7 "were not passed, but only drawn up by the committee", i.e., committee of the whole. Jefferson, in a letter to Wirt, Aug. 14, 1814 (MS. Lib. Cong., and *Writings*, ed. Ford, IX, 467-468), thinks that nos. 5 and 7 were disagreed to, no. 5 as tautologous, no. 7 as leading to individual persecution, "and that the 6th was the one passed by the House, by a majority of a single vote, and expunged from the Journals the next day". Our traveller, however, appears to have seen no. 7 under debate on the 31st. The dissolution occurred the next day, June 1.

<sup>85</sup> George III. was born June 4 (N. S.), 1738.

<sup>86</sup> Francis Fauquier.

<sup>87</sup> Up the Peninsula. Chiswell's ordinary was near the border between James City and New Kent.

<sup>88</sup> Now Pamunkey, Va.

this and matapony. Down at Delawar.<sup>89</sup> large ships come up this river as far as Cumberland. 20 miles below this place.<sup>90</sup> New Castle is in hanover County, where they make your fine sweet sented tobacco, as also in louisa County, litle mountain, and uper James river. the Nearer the mountains the beter the Soil. it is a Small town but pretyly situated: litle or no trade because small Crafts and ships long boats can go a good ways farther up the river to take their tobacco out of the ware houses that are for that purpose.

I lodge, here, at Colonel Johnsons who Keeps tavern, he is Colonel in the Militia, and likes well to be Called so. his Brother major Boswell, also in the Militia, was here, and retained as well as myself, by the rain four and twenty hours, dureing which time we had nothing talked of but the stamp Dutys. the major says freely he'l sooner Die than pay a farthing, and is shure that all his Countrymen will do the Same. there was a great deal said about the Noble Patriot Mr. henery, who lives in this County,<sup>91</sup> the whole Inhabitants say publiqly that if the least Injury was ofered to him they'd stand by him to the last Drop of their blood. some of them muter betwixt their teeth, let the worst Come to the worst we'l Call the french to our sucour; and if they were in Canada the British parlem't would as soon be Dd. as to offer to do what they do now. the Country hereabouts is fine and pleas't.

*June the 7th.* Set out from New Castle, Crossed the river here on a wooden Bridge, arived at tods bridge<sup>92</sup> on matapony river, 12 m. this is a Small place Consisting of three warehouses to lodge the tobacco that Comes Down the river in flats. Small ships Come up this river to Wakerton.<sup>93</sup> the large ships lye Down at Delawar.

*June the 8th.* from tods bridge to Sneads ordinary, 22 m. the Country very pleasant. from Sneads ordy. to port Royal, 12 m. this is a fine situation on Rapahanock river, a beautiful level Country about it. Ships of 400 hhds. come up to the town and brigs and large sloops Can go up to Frederiksb'g, which is next to Norfolk and williamsburg the largest and most trading town in virginia. it has all the trade of the Back settlements who send Down here great quantitys of Butter, Chees, flax, hemp, flower, and some tobacco which they rol Down many miles. the large ships ride Down at tapahanock or hobses hole which is about 30 m. lower. frederiksb'g about 30 m. above.

<sup>89</sup> West Point.

<sup>90</sup> Cumberland Landing is on the Pamunkey, a few miles north of New Kent courthouse.

<sup>91</sup> Since 1764, Henry had lived in Louisa County. Wirt, p. 37.

<sup>92</sup> Now Aylett, Va.

<sup>93</sup> Walkerton.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

*The Group Mind: a Sketch of the Principles of Collective Psychology, with Some Attempt to Apply them to the Interpretation of National Life and Character.* By WILLIAM McDUGALL, F. R. S., Professor of Psychology at Harvard University. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1920. Pp. xxii, 418. \$5.00.)

THIS book is based upon the author's *Social Psychology* and assumes familiarity with it. Group psychology aims to discover the most general principles of group life and to apply these principles to particular groups—in this case the modern nation. Group life reacts on and modifies the lives of its members and so possesses properties which make it more than the lives of its constituents.

Part I. outlines the general principles of collective psychology. The hypotheses of telepathy and "collective consciousness" are examined and rejected as explanations of impulsive crowd behavior. The principle of sympathetic induction of emotion is a more satisfactory explanation. Crude emotions spread more rapidly than higher emotions because they do not imply the existence of refined sentiments which when present destroy the emotional homogeneity of the crowd. Crowds have a low order of intellectual process because the only ideas that can be collectively understood are those appreciated by their lower minded members. Increased suggestibility of the members reduces the level of intelligence. A sense of divided responsibility felt in the crowd also lowers its mental level. Moreover, the crowd has little self-consciousness and no self-regarding sentiment and hence feels little responsibility. The actions of the crowd are thus not volitional but simply impulsive.

In contrast to the simple crowd is the highly organized group. Five conditions raise collective mental life to a higher level: continuity of existence of the group; an idea of the group with a sentiment organized about it; interaction of the group with other different groups; a body of common habit, custom, and tradition; and the organization of the group by differentiation and specialization of function of its constituents. These criteria are applied to the analysis of the army as a highly organized group, and the author shows how the idea of the group becomes part of an extension of the self-regarding sentiment. Using the concept of group spirit in the sense of *esprit de corps*, the author shows how the group spirit raises the intellectual level of its members by an organization of the sentiment of admiration for the moral qualities of courage,



endurance, trustworthiness, and cheerful obedience. In this way the group spirit destroys opposition and conflict between crudely individualistic and primitive altruistic tendencies of our nature, thus realizing social harmony.

In part II, the nation is analyzed as a psychological group. National mind lies psychologically between the crowd and the highly organized group, although it is more complex than the latter. Its basis is a certain degree of mental homogeneity, native or acquired. National self-consciousness can develop only as a sentiment. Intercourse, conflict, and competition are necessary to bring out this common sentiment of patriotism. Psychological justification for patriotism lies in the moral value of the group spirit which raises the conduct of the mass of men above the plane of simple egoism or family self-consciousness. Loyalty to a nation is capable of exalting character and conduct in a higher degree than any other form of the group spirit.

Modern communication through the devices of representative government and a party system raises the level of collective mental life above that of the city-state because it permits deliberation without the emotional dangers of assembly.

Part III, deals with the development of national mind and character.

The volume contributes a valuable analysis of the mental life of the group in terms of organized affective dispositions. In applying these principles to the mental life of nations the author tends to glorify the nation without scientifically analyzing it. To scholars familiar with the author's *Social Psychology*, this book is a disappointment.

F. STUART CHAPIN.

*Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence.* By Sir PAUL VINOGRADOFF, F. B. A., Corpus Professor of Jurisprudence in the University of Oxford. Vol. I. *Introduction; Tribal Law.* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1920. Pp. ix, 428. 21s.)

THIRTY years ago Edward A. Freeman wrote privately that he believed a Russian scholar—whom he was just attending on that person's first visit to a court of quarter sessions—was about to achieve remarkable success in the investigation of early English institutions. In 1892 the appearance of Vinogradoff's *Villainage in England* proved that the great historian's faith was well grounded. That masterpiece has been followed by three fruitful decades of special studies, decades which have brought to the sometime foreign student knighthood, an Oxford professorship, and leadership among the world's great juridical thinkers and writers. He now undertakes a much broader and an exceedingly difficult task.

The present volume is devoted to origins—to "Tribal Law"; but the subject is taken up only after an elaborate introduction comprising 160 pages, or more than two-fifths of the entire discussion. Throughout the



work the marginal notes reveal a thorough mastery of a very large though selected literature. English and especially German works are conspicuously cited; while, on some topics, important American contributions are as conspicuously omitted.

The introduction comprises two distinct lines of inquiry, each in four chapters. Part I., "Law and the Sciences", examines the relations of Law and Logic, Law and Psychology, Law and Social Science, and Law and Political Theory. Part II., devoted to "Methods and Schools of Jurisprudence", considers in turn the Rationalists, Nationalists, Evolutionists, and Modern Tendencies in Jurisprudence. The learned author's views and judgments on a great number of vital questions challenge the reader's attention; but lack of space here forbids more than a few brief comments.

The relations of law and logic, as they are exhibited in the rules of evidence and pleading, and the chief fallacies through which the minds of jurors are often ensnared, are set forth with citations of pertinent cases in a way to delight the lawyer and to instruct the layman. Admirable as is the author's analysis of the pervading interrelations of law and psychology, one could have desired a less conservative treatment. For instance, in considering the "modern aspects" of the theory of emotion and instinct, one misses any reference to Trotter's notable investigation of human herd-instinct; and while one is grateful for the helpful discussion of "stages in the development of criminal law", "anthropological researches in criminal law", and the "problems of the policy of punishment", one is disappointed that no direct mention occurs of the rising demand for a radical reform in judicial procedure in order to utilize the accumulating evidence that mental deficiency is the basic cause of a large part of so-called crime. Should not tests of amentia and the psychopathic clinic become the initial stage in trials for crimes? Well says Dr. Parmelee, the American scholar, when "criminal procedure is based on criminal anthropology and sociology, crime will no longer be treated merely as a juridical phenomenon but primarily as an anthropological and social phenomenon".

In his account of the relation of law and the social sciences, Sir Paul crosses ground often trod by writers in recent years, notably by American scholars. On the whole, it cannot be said that he has much broadened our horizon. In particular, his appreciation of recent progress in sociological science seems to be restricted. He appears still to be too much under the sway of Spencer and the "organicists". "In truth," he declares, "apart from the well-known achievements of the great pioneers of the study—A. Comte as to the classification of the sciences and Herbert Spencer as to the application of the principles of physical evolution to social life—the best contributions to general sociology have been obtained by applying purposely one-sided theories to the investigation of society."

To perceive no real advance in general sociology since Comte and Spencer is indeed surprising. Is not the following dictum a bit provincial? "The more or less paradoxical fancies of Lester Ward provide, perhaps, more interesting reading, but the thought which suggests itself forcibly in the perusal of this writer's volumes is that his excursions into all the sciences are the very reverse of careful scientific inquiry: why should such random disquisitions pretend to be contributions to a new science?" Yet, making all due allowance for faulty psychology, it is agreed by the majority of scholars competent to pass judgment that Ward's great achievement is the release of sociology from Spencer's hampering biological method of treatment, and the revelation of it as essentially a psychological study. Hence, more than to any other one writer, credit must be given to Ward for the present marvelous development of sociological thought and its resulting practical applications. He clarified the mental atmosphere which Spencer and the "organicists" had befogged, and disclosed the real contrast between physical and social evolution.

It would be hard to find anywhere so compact and yet so comprehensive an account of the methods and schools of jurisprudence as that which the author has given us. "On the whole," he summarizes, "there can be no doubt that the idea of evolution has had a potent influence on jurisprudential studies"; though he justly protests against the hasty assumption of universal stages of social progress through which all mankind has run, an assumption so often made by German writers. If it be true that "recent developments in the domain of jurisprudence have not yet assumed a sufficiently distinctive character to entitle them to rank as a new epoch in the history of that science", it is not less true that the growing tendency to demand a thorough "socialization" of law deserves more emphatic consideration than one finds in the text. Some recognition of the sociological school of interpretation, of which in the United States Roscoe Pound is leader, would have been appreciated. Witness the revolt against the common-law superstitions of Blackstone and his followers.

Holding that the treatment of the problems of early society is "bound to be *ideological* and not *chronological*", Professor Vinogradoff proceeds to study "*historical types* as the foundation of a theory of law". The development of tribal law is presented in three parts, comprising in all ten chapters. "The Elements of the Family", in three chapters, entitled respectively Selection of Mates, the Mother and the Father, and Relationship and Marriage, is the subject of part I.

In the outset, we are told that the "earliest tribal moulds of society are based on conceptions of relationship and are derived from some form of family organization." Hence the "survey has to start from a study of the *marital union* as the initial institution which brings together and provides for the growth of society". The principal forms of marriage

and the family and the resulting theories to explain them are critically tested, in particular the rival theories of promiscuity or pairing as the original sexual relation. Professor Vinogradoff is not inclined to adopt Westermarck's theory of the pairing family as of general application. "We grant that there is some evidence that the institution of marriage may start from isolated pairs"; but, "considering the immense variety of conditions in ancient times, it is improbable that any exclusive theory will be true in all cases". Dealing as he does in these and some other chapters with materials handled by a host of writers from Bachofen to Westermarck, the author's independent judgments will be received with keen interest by students of early social life. As examples may be mentioned his discussion of the "roots" of exogamous and epigamous unions, and his views on the social status of women under the matrilineal and patrilineal systems. Under the patriarchal system, the fatherhood principle "centres on property"; for the "law of marital union depends less on the law of relationship, not to speak of affection, than on the law of property and authority." In marriage rightly so-called there must be a "contractual element". Marital union is sharply distinguished from marriage. "It is a fundamental fact that there is inherent in our connotation of the term 'marriage' an idea of reciprocal obligation which is not implied in mating or marital union." This distinction gives us the clue to the interesting discussion presented in the chapter on Relationship and Marriage.

Part II., on "Aryan Culture", in four strong chapters, drawn from a wide selection of source-material, considers Aryan Origins, the Patriarchal Household, the Joint Family, and Succession and Inheritance. Here Sir Paul has had the advantage of some of his own earlier special studies. The same is true of the masterly treatment of "Clan and Tribe", to which part III. is devoted. In three chapters, based chiefly though not wholly on a comparison of Roman, Celtic, Teutonic, and especially Anglo-Saxon sources, the text reaches its climax of interest and power. They treat respectively of the Organization of Kinship, Land Tenure, and the Law of the Tribal Federation; but the enlightening discussion may not here be even briefly summarized.

Professor Vinogradoff's book is a notable contribution to juridical literature; and the second volume, on the *Jurisprudence of the Greek City*, will be eagerly awaited.

GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD.

*Manuel d'Archéologie Romaine.* Par R. CAGNAT, Membre de l'Institut, Professeur au Collège de France, et V. CHAPOT, Docteur ès Lettres, Ancien Membre de l'École d'Athènes. Tome Deuxième. *Décoration des Monuments (suite): Peinture et Mosaïque; Instruments de la Vie Publique et Privée.* (Paris: Auguste Picard. 1920. Pp. vi, 574. 30 fr.)

IN this second and last volume of a Manual of Roman Archaeology are the second part of book II., with four chapters on painting and mosaic, and book III., with sixteen chapters on public and private life. The last fifty-one pages contain the list of illustrations and the table of contents of this volume, and the index to both volumes. The manual has 704 illustrations, fig. 372 being the first one in the second volume. It is of course to be regretted that the cost of color-printing is prohibitive, for the value of the chapters on painting and mosaic would have been enhanced decidedly could color have been used. *Die Hellenische* and *Die Hellenistisch-Römische Kultur*, by Baumgarten, Poland, and Wagner, are the two competitive cases in point. However it must be said that in spite of the paper, which is none too good, the illustrations in the manual are very clear indeed.

The history, the technique, the celestial and realistic repertoire, of both painting and mosaic, are handled in a sympathetic and learned way. As might be expected, most of the references are to paintings in Pompeii, and to mosaics in France or French Tunis. There is no reference at all to some of the finest of Roman mosaics in Italy. In fact recent literature, i.e., since 1910, is hardly quoted. It would not be fair to expect any mention of the latest published finds of painting and stucco, inasmuch as they are still under controversy, but the *Notizie degli Scavi* has been full of material for the past ten years, especially in the articles on Ostia, which has almost taken a rank alongside Pompeii in importance for the interpretation of Roman antiquity.

The chapters on public and private life contain material carefully enough chosen to give a student a good general knowledge of the field. The titles of the chapters will show that the manual is sound in its method: religion, theatres, industry, commerce, weights and measures, vehicles, ships, military equipment, costumes, furniture, cooking utensils, musical writing, medical instruments, etc. The twenty-five pages devoted to theatrical and athletic affairs make a poor showing alongside the 160 pages given to the same subjects in the ninth edition of Friedländer, which has come from the press under date of 1919. The three sections, covering only fourteen pages, on coins, medallions, and tesserae, leave very much to be desired. On the other hand, the sections which deal with food-stuffs, and especially all those which deal with the phases of military life, are exceedingly satisfactory. They are fairly short, yet at the same time complete.

The authors have given us our first Manual of Roman Archaeology. It does not include some of the things that later manuals will contain, and it does not treat certain phases of Roman antiquity in as much detail as has been done in the books by Tenney Frank, H. S. Jones, J. E. Sandys, H. Blumner, and L. Friedländer, nor has it the incisive grace of interpretation found in books by F. F. Abbott or Warde Fowler. The authors have chosen to use the new material found and published by

French archaeologists, and all of it is splendid material; but in doing so they have left out, probably on purpose, many things which are found in the works of the men mentioned above.

This manual is timely and is an excellent piece of work. Its authors are epigraphists and archaeologists of note, and they make almost no mistakes of fact. Roman archaeology has not been welcomed too warmly by the classicists, but this manual gives it a definite and irreproachable standing.

R. V. D. MAGOFFIN.

#### BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

##### *Benedictine Monachism: Studies in Benedictine Life and Rule.*

By the Right Rev. CUTHBERT BUTLER, Abbot of Downside Abbey. (London: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1919. Pp. 387. 18s.)

THIS volume "consists of a connected series of essays covering the most important aspects of Benedictine life and activities. It is addressed, of course, primarily to Benedictines, but it should appeal . . . also, in a special way, to those scholars and students who hold the Benedictine name in veneration." These words from the author's preface may serve to indicate not the contents only but some of the limitations of this book. It is not an historical account of the black monks but a "systematic exposition of what may be called the philosophy, the theory, of the Benedictine rule and life". The historical element is not indeed lacking but it is subordinated to the main purpose of the work.

The chapters (IV.-VIII.) dealing with the spiritual life will be valuable to all who wish to gain an understanding of the dynamic of monachism; equally useful are the chapters on the Benedictine Vows, and Benedictine Poverty. The ninth chapter is an elaborate foot-note on the Rule. There follow five chapters on questions of government and organization, affording a convenient account of the Benedictine world today; a prosaic narrative or rather an elaborate time-table of the daily monastic round; and a hundred pages devoted to the history and influence of the black monks. This last part of the volume is the most sketchy and unsatisfactory.

Through the major part of the exposition runs a mildly polemic strain: the Abbot of Downside sets forth and defends his interpretation of the Rule of St. Benedict with particular reference to present-day conditions, and some of the manifestations of Benedictinism he considers contrary to the mind of the founder. Two ideas, broadly interpreted in the light of Newman's doctrine of development, are met with again and again: the conception of the monastic family, the autonomous and autocephalous community, is one, and that St. Benedict did not intend his spiritual sons to live lives of marked austerity, is the other. Of the

first Benedictines he says, "The general conditions of life were probably no harder or rougher than would have been the lot of most of them had they remained in the world", and he deprecates any tendency toward a greater asceticism, any "hankering after self-inflicted austerities". The Benedictine life should be one of moderation; the Rule must be liberally interpreted; and so Abbot Butler approves of smoking "at discretion" and does not censure the use of flesh meat, though the Rule enjoins abstinence therefrom.

The present pronounced tendency toward centralization, endangering the autonomy of the individual monastery and its family life, disturbs the author. Although he does not say so, this may well be one of the inevitable results of the workings of the papal system. That the religious orders aided the papacy in extending its authority is well known; it would be not unprofitable, perhaps, to trace the development of papal jurisdiction in terms of its increased control over the regular clergy.

As an interpretation of the Benedictine philosophy this book will be of service to all who are interested in ecclesiastical institutions; but if regarded as an historical work it must be used with caution. Its author relies entirely too much on secondary material — *e. g.*, Gasquet and Workman and Hannay — and leaves untouched all too many phases of Benedictine history for the book to be considered a thorough and scholarly contribution to historical literature. Of course, it is possible that the work was never intended to be so regarded. In that case, it is unfortunate that some chapters were not omitted. The index is sadly incomplete.

ALFRED H. SWEET.

*French Civilization from its Origins to the Close of the Middle Ages.* By ALBERT LÉON GUÉRARD. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1921. Pp. 328. \$5.00.)

It is increasingly obvious to students of French literature that more attention is now given to the background than used to be the case. Formerly teachers and students were satisfied with aesthetic appreciation. Then came the development of historical and biographical study as an explanation of masterpieces. Now the authors are being placed in their social setting, and are interpreted as facts or results of national development. Professor Guérard of Rice Institute is already favorably known by his two volumes, *French Prophets of Yesterday*, and *French Civilization in the Nineteenth Century*. A Frenchman by birth, but one who has lived long enough in America to express himself as idiomatically and as vigorously in English as in his mother-tongue, he is performing the useful task of linking history and literature by works such as the present one. It should help to break down the water-tight compartments which too long in the universities of this country, as contrasted, for instance, with Oxford, have separated the historians from the students of letters.

The volume in question is based on lectures given at Stanford University, the Rice Institute, and the University of Chicago. It endeavors to survey, in the brief space of about three hundred pages, French civilization from its origins to the close of the Middle Ages, under such general headings as the Elements of French Nationality, Antiquity and the Dark Ages, the Christian Commonwealth, and Lay Society. The task is ambitiously inclusive, as the author does not wittingly neglect any aspect of his study and extends his narrative from an introductory survey of French geography, with the mountains and river basins, to the flowering of civilization in art, literature, and philosophy, as well as in the more concrete organisms of medieval society, such as the Church and the clergy; the feudal régime, with the fighting caste and the peasants; the urban civilization with the communes, commerce, and industry; the royal power in relation to Church and feudalism; the Parliament and the States-General. Professor Guérard even begins his account with the prehistoric dwellers on French soil, and supplies the current theories concerning the Neanderthal race and the Crô-Magnon race, which latter has left interesting traces in caverns of the Dordogne region.

It is thus obvious that Professor Guérard's book is a work of comprehensive popularization, covering a vast field and necessarily relying on secondary sources. To test the accuracy of all its statements, ranging from ethnology through economics to literature, philosophy, and government, would be a serious endeavor, and to apply the method of censorious faultfinding would be unfair. If, however, the reviewer asks whether the book justifies the author's labor, the answer is confidently affirmative. There are few brief works of its kind so helpful in giving a reader his bearings in an extraordinarily rich and varied field of study. The presentation is clear and systematic, and, though the numerous headings and subtitles break, in a certain sense, the continuity of the narrative, nevertheless the author's power of exposition and his sense of proportion make the work of interest to the general reader as well as to the student of a special subject. The book overlaps the fields of many of the courses in American universities, but can be the more helpful in supplying the background to them all. It is the more to be regretted, therefore, that the cost of the short volume, printed in Great Britain and merely reissued in this country with the imprint of its American publishers, makes it one that comparatively few will feel like buying. C. H. C. WRIGHT.

*A History of Scotland from the Roman Evacuation to the Disruption, 1843.* By CHARLES SANFORD TERRY, Litt.D. Cantab., Burnett-Fletcher Professor of History in the University of Aberdeen. (Cambridge: University Press. 1920. Pp. lv, 653. 20s.)

PROFESSOR C. S. TERRY is already well known among scholars for his



work on Scotch manuscripts and history. He has, thus, many qualifications for writing his latest book, which is intended to hold a place as a one-volumed history, between the longer histories of Brown and Lang and mere school text-books.

Throughout we find continual evidence of wide reading, of careful research, and of independent judgments. The prevailing note is also one of severe objectivity. At no point is it possible to find personal preferences coloring the narrative or making it dubious or suspect. Professor Terry moves with detached calm among the intricacies of such history as the Scotch Reformation, Jacobitism, and the Disruption; and he at once impresses his readers with the fact that he possesses a fine sense of historical justice and restraint.

In division of subject and in emphasis there is excellent discrimination. For example, a third of the book is taken up with the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in which took place the crystallization of many of those features which became pregnant with purpose in Scotch history. Stress is also continually laid on ecclesiastical and religious events and movements which are so remarkably interwoven with political development that it is impossible to separate them, as in the histories of other countries.

On the other hand, there are singular weaknesses. Mr. Terry is undoubtedly possessed by his subject—a qualification for writing briefly upon it—but he lacks other qualifications. The style is lifeless. His use of words is at times irritating, if not obscure. His sentences are frequently involved, in places ambiguous and perverse. I have been compelled to read some of them several times. Again, his narrative becomes often overcrowded with personages and events. The compression, which the nature of such a book demands, is frequently arrived at by the recital of names and facts, and not by broad views, masterful generalizations. A thousand years are crushed into the first hundred and fifty pages in a manner dear to the unimaginative heart of a medieval chronicler; while the history from 1745 to 1843—a period of few “facts”, but one rich for interpretative insight—occupies only seventy pages.

The general defect, indeed, is that Professor Terry's conception of history is largely one of kings and prelates and personages—and of them there is no fine drawing—of governments and laws. We wonder, after reading his book, if there are such things as a Scotch people, Scotch social interactions, Scotch economic forces—spheres, in a word, pedestrian if you like, of which historical characters are but the surface. Mr. Terry tells us in his preface of his intention to emphasize “genealogical illustration”. That intention he carries out on the whole successfully; but it also serves to illustrate the limitations of his idea of history.

These failings are all the more vital in a book written for the general public. It may be a matter for discussion whether the historian ought to write for them; but granted the validity of the purpose, Mr. Terry has, broadly speaking, failed.



In claiming, too, only to restate the history, Mr. Terry believes that the format of his book excludes reference to all authorities. I have already pointed out its general accuracy; but its value is discounted by the plan. Contemporary phrases and such like are worked in with uniform success (Burnet's words often appearing without quotation marks), and they often provide interest and color; but there is nothing to guide the reader or to encourage him to further study. If Mr. Terry does not like to burden his pages with foot-notes, authorities at the end of each chapter could easily be inserted. However, it is fair to add that for that aspect of the history on which he lays stress, he has provided over forty pages of excellent "Pedigree Tables" which have been revised by the Lyon-King-of-Arms.

There are several good maps, a good index, and an interesting portrait of James V. lately come into the possession of the University of Aberdeen and apparently not previously reproduced.

W. P. M. KENNEDY.

*Rois et Serfs, un Chapitre d'Histoire Capétienne.* Par MARC BLOCH, Chargé de Cours à l'Université de Strasbourg. (Paris: Édouard Champion. 1920. Pp. 224. 2 fr.)

THIS study of the policy of the Capetian kings toward the serfs upon the royal domain covers the period from about the middle of the twelfth century to the accession of the house of Valois in 1328. The closing date is arbitrarily chosen for the purpose of limiting the scope of the investigation, and by no means marks the close of an epoch in the history of serfdom.

In so far as the author is able to throw light upon the progress and extent of the movement toward emancipation, his principal results may be summarized as follows. The first considerable demand on the part of the serfs for freedom—doubtless stimulated by the rise of the communes—arose in the closing years of Louis VI., and it continued to grow in volume through the reign of St. Louis. At first this demand was resisted by the kings, and the earliest victories of the peasants were won only after prolonged struggles. (The emancipation of the serfs of Orleans, *e. g.*, was accomplished only after forty-three years of effort, 1137-1180.) But presently the monarchy came to realize that enfranchisements could profitably be exploited as a source of revenue, and during the reign of St. Louis the royal opposition was withdrawn. The first groups of serfs to gain their freedom were, as one would expect, those of certain towns and their environs; but during the reign of St. Louis emancipations took place upon a large scale in rural districts, and the number of serfs who gained their freedom at this time must have been great. Owing to a change in administrative methods under the successors of St. Louis, records of but few enfranchisements were preserved in the archives of the central government, and it therefore be-

comes much more difficult to trace the further history of the emancipation movement. Apparently there was a falling off in the demand for freedom at this time. At any rate the needs of the treasury were such that offers of freedom by the government far outran the peasants' demands, and special commissioners were sent into the provinces to urge upon the royal serfs the purchase of manumissions. Traces of the activities of these commissioners have survived for the years 1291, 1296, 1299, 1302, 1315, and 1318; but to what extent the serfs availed themselves of these costly opportunities it is impossible to say. A venerable tradition credits Louis X. and Philip V. with having ordered a general enfranchisement of the serfs on all the royal domain in 1315 and 1318. The author demonstrates the falsity of this tradition. The operations of these monarchs in the matter of manumissions were confined to the two *bailliages* of Senlis and Vermandois; the celebrated "Ordonnances" of 1315 and 1318 were not general edicts of emancipation at all, but letters patent despatching royal commissioners into the two regions above mentioned for the sale of manumissions; and the fame of these documents is due solely to the literary fancies of the clerk who drafted their extraordinary preamble: "Sans l'éloquence intempestive d'un clerc, l'histoire se serait à peine souvenue de ce modeste épisode." It is impossible to draw conclusions as to the extent of the enfranchisements which took place during the reigns of Philip the Fair and his sons.

The Capetian kings, be it well understood, in granting freedom to their serfs were not moved by pious motives or by the vague, traditional notions of natural freedom which pervaded the atmosphere of the Middle Ages. Financial considerations alone determined their attitude toward their serfs. There is no reason to suppose that either the good St. Louis or any of his predecessors or successors were moved by other motives. Different methods of exploitation were practised at different periods. At one time the attempt was made to increase the income from servile dues by the more efficient collection of *mainmortes* and *formariages*, at another to reap greater, but more transient, profits from the sale of manumissions. The greatly increased needs of the treasury caused the government to redouble its efforts to profit by such sales at the opening of the fourteenth century. Considerations of space forbid us to dwell upon the author's admirable survey of the development of this aspect of royal financial policy, or to do more than mention the concise information which he has brought together concerning the numerous collectors of *mainmortes* and *formariages* and the commissioners for the sale of manumissions who served the Capetian kings. It is earnestly to be hoped that he will be able in the near future to complete the more comprehensive work upon *Les Populations Rurales de l'Île-de-France à l'Époque du Servage*, of which the present study is to form but a complement, *un chapitre détaché*.

C. W. DAVID.

*Ireland under the Normans, 1216-1333.* By GODDARD HENRY ORPEN, Member of the Royal Irish Academy. Volumes III. and IV. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1920. Pp. 314; 343. 30s.)

THESE two volumes, which complete the survey of the Anglo-Norman age of Irish history begun by Mr. Orpen ten years ago,<sup>1</sup> show the same qualities that distinguished their predecessors: careful research, critical judgment, and an honest endeavor for historical truth. In a larger measure they are pioneer work, pieced together from isolated annalistic entries and from public records, without the aid of any such central body of chronicle as exists for contemporary England. Skeptical of well-known writers like Roger of Wendover (III. 66-72) and John Barbour (IV. 165 ff.), the author prefers to rely on documentary evidence, and he has utilized minutely the surviving rolls and calendars and inquisitions, unconscious records "not designed to influence posterity, but intended for immediate use in the ordinary course of administration or business".

A narrative built up in this way must suffer from lack of continuity, particularly in a period when Irish history is chiefly concerned with the doings of local families, with little in the way of common organization to give it unity or direction. It inheres in the subject that much of the space must be given to the partition of Leinster among the daughters of William Marshal, the deeds of the Fitzgeralds in Munster, the conquest of Connaught and the rivalries to which it gave rise, the more isolated story of the earldom of Ulster, and the deeds of native kings like Brian O'Neill and Aedh O'Connor, "the destroyer and improver of all Erin during the period of his own renown, dignity, and time".

In all this interplay of tribal chieftainship and Norman feudalism Mr. Orpen is not blind to the institutional side. "Whatever disadvantages were inherent in the devolution of a Celtic chieftainship—and from the point of view of social order and progress they were many and grave—the system was at least free from these evils of feudal succession", the division of a great fief "among female heirs whose husbands were absentees with greater interests elsewhere", and the long periods of administration by bailiffs of the crown who had no permanent interest in the welfare of the holding. So again the problem of Connaught was complicated by the fact that the first feoffees were already great feudal lords elsewhere.

As regards general policy, it appears that the weaknesses of Henry III., always "something of a spoilt child", counted for little in Ireland, unless it be his "political ineptitude" in dealing with the reserved cantrids of Connaught. The barons remained loyal, their local independence little restrained by the royal justiciars, and there was no barons' war here. By failing to visit Ireland in the course of his long reign, Henry

<sup>1</sup> See this *Review*, XVII. 361 ff.

set an example generally followed by his successors, though Edward III. went so far as to plan a visit in 1332. Edward I., both as prince and as king, was an absentee, and his high talents as a ruler had small effect in Ireland; yet his reign "was in fact the culminating period of the whole Anglo-Norman epoch", and the long decline began with the invasion of Edward Bruce in 1315. It was characteristic of Edward I. that he should seek to introduce English law into Ireland as into Wales, "because the laws which the Irish use are detestable to God, and so contrary to all law that they ought not to be deemed laws". The impracticability of such a measure is clearly recognized by Mr. Orpen, who points out that by the fourteenth century the question became rather how to prevent the resident English from adopting Irish law. In law, as in everything else, Ireland was but half conquered. The first parliament was held in 1297; that of 1310 passed many ordinances which, as an annalist remarks, "would have been very useful had they been observed".

Most readers will find the chief interest in the concluding chapter, where the author enlarges the survey of One Hundred and Sixty Years of Norman Rule which he began in the second volume and continued in an article in this *Review* (XIX. 245-256). It is illuminating to bring the Norman conquest of Ireland into the same perspective as the conquest of England and Sicily. While declaring that Henry II. "had a better title to Ireland than his great-grandfather had to England", Mr. Orpen has no illusions as to the "veneer of legality" which covered Norman self-seeking. Keeping strictly to the Middle Ages, he distinguishes sharply the indirect and remote consequences of Anglo-Norman domination from the more direct and immediate results, which he finds distinctly beneficent as contrasted with the "two centuries of retrogression, stagnation, and comparative anarchy" which followed. In particular the material progress of the country is shown by fresh evidence; even in a matter like coinage the absence of earlier Irish mints assured an advance over the earlier period which Professor Oman has denied to the Norman conquest of England. On the inherent weaknesses of the English occupation the author is less informing. The chief of these, as he sees it, was the persistence of Celtic tribalism alongside a decaying feudalism. But that is another story, which needs to be worked out for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in a continuation which Mr. Orpen is best qualified to write. Such a work will supply useful material for comparative study of the results of Norman conquest in general, as well as the indispensable background for Tudor policy in Ireland.

CHARLES H. HASKINS.

*Weltgeschichte in gemeinverständlicher Darstellung.* In Verbindung mit . . . herausgegeben von LUDO MORITZ HARTMANN. Band V. *Das Späte Mittelalter.* Von KURT KASER. (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes A.-G. 1921. Pp. vi, 278. M. 24.)

THIS is the fifth volume of the Hartmann *Weltgeschichte*, twice be-

fore mentioned in these pages (XXV. 641; XXVI. 495). The volume now under consideration covers the period from the death of Frederick II, through the Renaissance, to about 1517, in six sections of several chapters each. The first section, on State and Church in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, treats of the papal relations with France, England, and the Empire, the condition of the Empire, and the Italian political world from 1200 to 1400. This is succeeded by a section on economic developments—the commercial predominance of Italy, the growth of capitalistic enterprise there, the activities of the Germans in the field of world-trade to the close of the fourteenth century. Next comes a long section on the erection of strong monarchical states in Western Europe—two chapters each on France and England, one on the Hundred Years' War, and one on Spain, to about 1500. The fourth section deals with the sixteenth-century situation in Central and Eastern Europe, the Imperial and French rivalry for control of the Italian Peninsula, the Turks, and the foundation of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The fifth section, like the third, is entirely devoted to economic affairs: the loss of commercial supremacy by the Italians, capitalistic developments in Germany and in the Netherlands, capitalism in its wider aspects as a new force with profound effects on Church, State, and society, have a chapter each. The final section, given up to the Church at the close of the Middle Ages, sweeps the reader through the Babylonian Captivity, the schism, the councils, the situation of the papacy on the eve of the Reformation, and, somewhat out of breath, into eight pages on the Renaissance, where it leaves him wondering how much of the next volume, by the same author, will be devoted to the intellectual movement here so briefly discussed.

The bibliographical lists are even shorter than in the volume on the early Middle Ages by Hellmann. Preceding each section there is a short list of secondary authorities on that particular field. As for sources, the reader is rather curtly recommended to Herre and Dahlmann-Waitz. A chronological table of important events covers two pages. There is no index.

As in Hellmann's volume, the broad currents only are emphasized, here with singularly successful freedom from detail and in the main with a sure hand. Quite the most admirable portions of the book are the two sections on economic conditions and progress. Suggestive, excellent in balance, they present not uncritically the conclusions of many specialists. These sections alone, if the work were in English, would place the volume in general use. There are other pages and passages of interpretation of a similarly striking character that should prove to be deeply interesting to a casual reader of history, if there be any by whom a work in German could be used. In any *Weltgeschichte* necessarily and intentionally compressed within very limited space, an author is bound here and there to make general statements of his point of view

without full opportunity of proof, perhaps even of discussion. Such statements are arresting, provocative, therefore valuable to the informed reader, and questionable, therefore often dangerous to the uninformed. The following quotations will illustrate: "Der Kapitalismus mit seiner ausgebildeten, harten Kreditwirtschaft, seinem rast- und grenzelosen Erwerbsstreben, ist ein Element jener geistigen Revolution, die sich im 13. Jahrhundert gegen die Kirche erhebt" (p. 57); "Ludwig XI. und Richard III. umgibt der Blutgeruch der italienischen Renaissance" (p. 270).

Both press-work and proof-reading are vastly better than in the preceding volume. Kaser has set a good standard for his own book on the period to 1789, probably now ready, and for the numerous other volumes projected for the series.

E. H. B.

*Le Cardinal Nicholas de Cues, 1401-1464: l'Action, la Pensée.*

Par EDMOND VANSTEENBERGHE, Docteur ès Lettres et en Théologie. (Paris: Édouard Champion. 1920. Pp. xix, 506, 35 fr.)

THIS biographical study of Nicholas of Cusa is of very timely interest to everyone who cares for historical analogies. Cusa's manifold activities were synchronous with the life of the Council of Basel and with the extraordinary reactions of European politics that followed it. The slower pace of political development as compared with the fevered rush of affairs to-day cannot conceal the striking similarities between that great Congress of Nations and the deliberations of the Powers since the armistice of 1918. Then as now there were vast programmes of reconstruction inspired by the loftiest idealism; there were prophets of a new time preaching the gospel of a triumphant democracy; and then as now there were the cruel facts of an unregenerate world blocking every specific reform and calling for "practical" measures of delay and compromise.

Nicholas of Cues, son of a Moselle bargeman, precocious scholar, Heidelberg student, doctor in canon law at Padua, secretary to a papal legate in Germany, ardent collector of classical manuscripts, and correspondent of all the chief Italian humanists, enthusiastic member of the Council of Basel and then its most determined opponent, finally cardinal of the reforming pope Nicholas V. and his most active agent in bringing the restless churches of the North into line with the papal policy—was the very embodiment of his time. Dr. Vansteenberghe has drawn for us a very attractive picture of his hero. It is sympathetic without being adulatory, critical in the best sense but not faultfinding. The book is divided into two main sections of almost precisely equal length, under the headings of "Action" and "Thought". In the former we are given a survey of Nicholas's course of life with especial emphasis upon those phases which distinctly characterize his relation to public events.

The central point of this presentation is, of course, the Council, Cusa's influence upon it, and its reaction upon his own views of polity both state and ecclesiastical. In the chapter headed the Programme of Action we have a very clever analysis of the famous treatise *De Concordantia Catholica*, probably the best known of Cusa's writings. Published in the second year of the Council and based upon the previous action of Constance, especially upon the principle there laid down that a general council is superior to a pope, this new presentation is made under the impression of the new difficulties that had arisen since the great peril of the Schism had been overcome. The war was over, the peace had been proclaimed; but how to apply the principles of 1415 to the actualities of 1431? It was in the effort to answer this question that Cusa found himself in a growing antagonism to the leaders at Basel, to the men with whom he had hoped to work in a permanent readjustment of European affairs.

He believed, as they did, in a reform of society from the bottom upward, but he was not prepared to go with them to the length of rejecting the sanctified authority of a divine head working from above downward. When it came to that, he and his Paduan master Caesarini could not hesitate. They threw over the Council and cast in their lot with the sorely pressed papal cause. Cusa became in truth the "Hercules of the Eugenists", laboring henceforth with unrelenting zeal to bring back the wavering peoples of the North to their early loyalty.

As to the second, the intellectual side of Nicholas's activity, the interest of to-day is less vivid. If we seek for a word to classify him it would be, perhaps, "speculative physicist". His philosophy was that of unity in contradiction, and his present biographer has rather happily illustrated this by a continuous parallelism between his life of thought and his life of action. He sums it all up in the one characterization of his subject as above all else a "man of peace"—peace between the warring elements of human society, peace in the apparent conflicts of the world of phenomena and their reflection in the mind of man, and peace also in the individual soul between the allurements of passion and the highest leadings of the Christian intuition. Yet these various harmonies were to be attained only by unrelenting warfare, and the heritage of Cusa was only a stimulation to renewed conflict leading on to the inevitable cleavage of the Protestant Revolution.

The value of Dr. Vansteenberghe's work is increased by several appendixes giving a very complete bibliography of Cusa's works, a chronological and topical index to his sermons, and an itinerary of his German legation.

E. EMERTON.



*The Age of the Reformation.* By PRESERVED SMITH, Ph.D.  
[American Historical Series.] (New York: Henry Holt and  
Company. 1920. Pp. xii, 861. \$6.00.)

AMONG the many historians, some of them scholars of no mean capacity, who, in the course of the last quarter of a century, have attempted to analyze the nature and define the limits of the theological revolutions of the sixteenth century, and to give a general sketch of that age, no other writer has produced a work as useful, alike for the college student and the general public, as is the present volume by Dr. Preserved Smith. It would be idle to pretend entire agreement with all his ascriptions and conclusions. And, indeed, this was surely not among his expectations, for no poorer compliment could be paid to a suggestive writer than to intimate that he aroused in his readers nothing but monotonous assent. We may, however, assert with confidence that, for many years to come, no competent student of the period will henceforth pursue his labor without paying respectful attention to the present work.

There are fourteen chapters in the book. The first one sets the stage for the drama of revolt; and then six succeeding ones tell of the revolutions from the mother Church in the Germanic lands, in Switzerland, France, the Netherlands, England, and Scotland. This brings us to the middle of the volume. The remaining chapters are devoted to the Counter-Reformation, the Iberian Peninsula and the Expansion of Europe, Social Conditions, the Capitalistic Revolution, the Main Currents of Thought, the Temper of the Times, and the Reformation Interpreted.

The first chapter is necessarily highly condensed; but it is written clearly and is arranged effectively. Scattered throughout it, as through the other chapters, are many statements *ex authenticis fontibus*, and not infrequently there is evidence of original and enlightening reflection. In the midst of these excellencies are a few errors, such as the statement that without baptism "the unwashed soul, whether heathen or child of Christian parents, would go to eternal fire". The ancestral church was never so cruel. She was thoughtful and kindly enough to provide a harbor of refuge for those unhappy little ones, a pathetic dim-lighted place of lost possibilities, whose position as the vestibule to hell is indicated in the opening pages of the *Divine Comedy*. In the position, indeed, one finds the origin of the name Limbo. There the children dwell eternally, never to be disturbed even by the blast of the final archangelic trumpet. It remained for Calvin to condemn them to the awful and unremitting terrors of eternal fire. One must object, also, to the use of the phrase "the worship of the saints". Worship, in the teaching of the Church, was accorded only to God. The saints and angels were adored. There is a vital difference between the two words and the two ideas they represent. One of the finest things in the chapter is the exposition of the work of Lorenzo Valla. Nowhere else, as far as



the knowledge of the present writer goes, is there to be found in such brief compass so satisfactory a statement of the scope and significance of that keen-sighted and far-sighted humanist.

The explanation of the theory of indulgences is inadequate. Without other aid than that afforded by this book it would be impossible to arrive at a correct understanding of the subject. And the same defect is to be found in the exposition of Luther's central doctrine. Justification by faith alone? Yes. But faith in what? "Faith in the Redeemer", we are told. But one shall ask the great majority of college undergraduates to analyze that phrase correctly and ask in vain. And then when one goes a step further and asks how that faith was to be obtained, one is left waiting for the answer. It is no minor matter, for upon that answer depends the understanding of the fundamental dogma of Calvin. It is the theological point of departure for Protestantism.

When we come to the explanation of the origin of the name "Protestantism", another statement is found that may well be misleading. At the first Diet of Spire, which met in 1526, it was decided that until a general council should be held in a German city, each separate Germanic state should so conduct its religious affairs "as it hoped to answer for its conduct to God and the Emperor". This meant, of course, the control of religious affairs in the free cities by the magistrates, and in the provinces by the princes. At the second Diet of Spire, held three years later, this privilege of dictation was revoked. This revocation called forth the famous "protest". It was not a protest in behalf of the right of every individual man to choose his own religion; nor was it even a protest in behalf of the majority of the inhabitants of a particular city or province to choose the religion they desired. It was a protest on the part of the rulers against the revocation of the right, which three years previously they had acquired, arbitrarily to prescribe the religion of their subjects. How can we be sure, then, that the correct impression will be conveyed to the reader when he comes upon the statement that "the evangelical members of the Diet, much aggrieved at this blow to their faith, published a protest taking the ground that the recess of 1526 had been in the nature of a treaty and could not be abrogated without the consent of both parties to it"?

In the midst of an excellent chapter on Zwingli we are startled by the declaration that the Anabaptists were "an uncultured and ignorant group", that they were, indeed, the "Bolsheviki of the sixteenth century". Has our author, with all his wide and deep acquaintance with the historical literature of that time, not made himself familiar with the fast increasing mass of documents and secondary writings that makes such an opinion something less than just? In this new echo of an old hostility, which in the course of its reverberations has lost nothing of the original ignorance or narrowness, we seem to hear the voice of a prosecuting attorney rather than that of a judge. And when we read,

later on, that the Anabaptists added their voices to the prevailing "chorus of bibliolatry", the conclusion is irresistible that our author has never known these much maligned mystics, the majority of whom, at least before their leaders were exterminated, were not revolutionaries at all, but rather passive and recluse ascetics, in part exponents of the finest elements of humanism, and opponents of the crude literal creeds of the new theologies of the time.

The most central thought of our day is selfhood. It is a duty, we believe, as well as a right for each of us to lead his own life. Our cardinal virtues are self-control and self-reliance. Selfhood, self-help, self-reliance, self-respect, and self-realization—we hold them all to be undoubted virtues. And there were men of the sixteenth century who likewise esteemed them. This is made evident by our author in his exposition of many a thinker of that time, notably Rabelais and Montaigne. Why then does he ask us to believe that in the doctrine of predestination, in "the complete abandon to God and in the earnestness that was ready to sacrifice all to his will", there was "a certain moral grandeur"? The present writer, at least, can find in it nothing but moral abasement.

A regrettable defect is the ignoring, or inadequate treatment, of such leaders of liberal thought as Lelio Socini, Bernardino Ochino, Hans Denck, Sebastian Franck, and Caspar Schwenkfeld, in whom were embodied the profoundest aspirations, the most enduring hopes, the most generous and unselfish activities, and the most disinterested quest of truth of the time. It was they, together with some of the humanists, who more than any other men of the period strove to transform the slaves of compulsion into the children of freedom.

And now to speak of the merits of the book, for which we have left ourselves too small a space. The volume is admirably arranged, and the contents of each chapter are based upon an unusually wide knowledge of both original and secondary sources. There are few pages not rendered more valuable and interesting by the author's own thought, and vitalized by a marked power of telling statement. The interpretation of all the principal movements of the period is intelligent, liberal, and convincing, and entitles the author to be ranked with the best authorities upon the period in this, and in every other country. The book, necessarily, is compressed; but the disadvantage is overcome by a distinct gift of subordinating detail to main effects. It was a happy thought to devote a chapter to the interpretation of the Reformation by the writers who have made serious study of the period. With the aid of this chapter, the matter of which is arranged chronologically, but also with attention to the changing stream of thought, we can see, as nowhere else, what men of all confessions and schools of thought have had to say of the movement in the years that have intervened between the sixteenth century and our own day. It is a book of which the scholarship of our country may well be proud.

EDWARD MASLIN HULME.

*Ireland in the European System.* By JAMES HOGAN, Professor of History, University College, Cork. Volume I., 1500-1557. (London: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1920. Pp. xxx, 237. 12s. 6d.)

MR. H. G. WELLS in his *Outline of History* ventured the statement that Ireland contributed little or nothing to the general drama of European history before the nineteenth century. This volume is designed to prove the contrary. Strangely enough the author has chosen to begin his study with the year 1500. One would have thought that he could have refuted Mr. Wells far more convincingly had he begun ten centuries earlier. The reason why he did not do so becomes increasingly evident as his work proceeds. His real interest in Ireland lies in the development of her national consciousness and he finds the first expression of that consciousness in her revolt against Tudor despotism in the sixteenth century.

It is easy enough to agree with his denunciation of the Irish policy of the Tudors but not so easy to admit the national character of Irish resistance to it. Anyone familiar with the absolutely chaotic state of native Irish politics in the sixteenth century, and with the readiness of rival chieftains to court English assistance in their tribal quarrels, will demand far stronger proof than the author adduces for the existence of anything like a centralized national consciousness opposed to English rule, which he never tires of insisting upon. The fact is that the Tudors found it easy to tyrannize over Ireland for the simple reason that the Irish revealed practically no capacity for combined action against tyranny. It was not so much that they lacked leaders or organization. They lacked the essential spirit which would have provided both. On no other ground is it possible to explain the ability of Henry VIII., and particularly of Elizabeth, to maintain their policy in Ireland with the modest expenditure of blood and treasure which they were prepared to invest.

Professor Hogan is only indirectly concerned with this question, though his attitude toward it disposes him to regard every petty Irish refugee in Europe as a national ambassador and every cattle-raid as a national revolt. His main purpose is to disclose the position of Ireland in the European system. So far as this first volume goes he is chiefly concerned with the relations between Ireland and the French crown. It cannot be said that he throws any fresh light on this subject. His researches have evidently been confined to material accessible in French, and it is not always easy to gather from his references how much use he has made even of printed source material. One wonders for example what he means by such a reference as "Domestic Calendar, Edward VI., volume III." (p. 83, nn. 1, 2.), when one recalls that the domestic calendars begin with the year 1547 and that the first volume of them covers the period 1547-1580; or to what he refers (p. 82, n. 1) when he cites

Irish MSS. State Papers, London. To secondary material he makes but slight reference and it is apparent from his text that he has ignored much of it. In fact as a piece of serious original research his work hardly deserves attention.

Of the general background of French history upon which his Irish facts and fancies are projected he reveals amazingly little knowledge. It is bad enough to have him maintain of Henry II. that few more honorable, generous, and accomplished kings have ever ruled France (p. 93). When he proclaims Catharine de Medici to have been "the animating spirit and the avenging fury of the Catholic party in France" (p. 95), he is about as wide of the mark as it is possible to be. It is hard to believe that he has even read Lavissee, let alone the *Lettres de Catherine de Médicis*, which he cites in support of his statement.

In general the author would have us believe that the Irish situation played a part of first-rate importance in the calculations of the French crown when it was looking about for ways to do harm to England. But the facts do not bear him out, even if one confines one's attention to the facts as he presents them. With the splendid opportunities which Scotland presented, France had little need to think seriously of Ireland, though it was naturally the part of good policy to offer Irish rebels as much encouragement as could be cheaply given.

Professor Hogan is an ardent Irish nationalist. He is located at Cork. Probably, under these circumstances, he is not at present in the frame of mind to do serious historical research work. He is certainly not in the frame of mind to write judiciously about Irish history—even sixteenth-century Irish history.

CONYERS READ.

*La Réforme en Italie.* By E. RODOCANACHI. Part I. (Paris: Auguste Picard. 1920. Pp. 465. 10 fr.)

THIS newest contribution to the history of the Reformation in the sixteenth century is at first an agreeable surprise. Since Thomas McCrie wrote, in 1827, to be translated then into German, French, and Italian, no comprehensive work has been offered us. Comba's *Storia della Riforma in Italia* never got beyond the first volume, and his *I nostri Protestanti*, like Cantù's *Gli Eretici d'Italia*, conforms to the exigencies of the title. Mrs. White, in 1860, attempted much the same thing under the guise of a biography of Aonio Paleario; but her studies, as well as the modern ones of Mrs. Andrews ("Christopher Hare"), on "Men and Women of the Italian Reformation", aim at a wider public. The present writer, author of several works on the antiquities of the city of Rome and on Renaissance life, who has made one creditable excursion into the field of Reformation studies with his *Renée de France*, has sought to avoid the biographical method and—at least in this first part—the geographical.

which was the defect of McCrie criticized in 1876 by Masi.<sup>1</sup> Moreover he abandons the usual prelude on reformers before the Reformation. He is concerned solely with the reform which was based on justification by faith, and barely mentions, at the outset of his first chapter, the followers of Arnold of Brescia, of Saint Francis, of Marsiglio of Padua. Even Savonarola gets scant place, and only as the one whose sermons prepared men's minds for the message that came later. The author's conception of his subject seems clear at the start. If, in the second part of his work, as is suggested by various hints in the course of this first part, he intends to devote separate headings to the local movements in the various cities, there is a prospect that he is not going to lose sight of his main thesis, for, where biographical sketches have been necessary, he has grouped them under a single heading, "La Prédication—Les Principaux Apôtres de la Réforme", and the sketches themselves are of the briefest.

The task is not easy, the old superstructure set aside—and failing a personality to champion a definite idea and command enthusiasm everywhere. Luther would have signified less to the Germans, as also Calvin to the Genevans, had they not served as the exponents of political as well as of religious independence of the foreigner. But in Italy, no one as yet dreamed of expelling the foreigner, but only of getting rid of his political enemies, and not one of the Italian reformers had the patriotic significance which would make more coherent a history of the Reformation in Italy. Juan Valdes, who above all influenced the thought of those who protested in Italy against the ecclesiastical abuses rampant everywhere, was himself of Spain, the foreign oppressor *par excellence* of Italy. At Naples, Valdes taught in the spirit of Erasmus; but contact with him was the turning-point for Ochino, Vermigli, and Giulio da Milano, to mention only the greatest names in his numerous circle, while Curione edited his *Cento e dieci Divine Considerazioni*, which Vergerio had carried out of Italy. From his circle, too, came the *Benefizio di Cristo Crocifisso*, which was to the Italian Reform what Calvin's *Institutes* were to the French. If the story of the Reformation in Italy is homogeneous and to be regarded as the development of the thought of Valdes—which seems to be the purpose of Rodocanachi—it needs also to be related to the political currents of the time, which might well be a chapter reserved for the second volume. But of this we can only divine that the author's conclusion is to be the old one as to the result of the movement. It has disappeared! He proposes to set forth "les causes diverses qui amenèrent la disparition du protestantisme en Italie" (p. 358).

<sup>1</sup> In his study on *I Burlamacchi*. But McCrie wrote at a time when it was more difficult than now to generalize on divided Italy, and Masi at a time when Italians were thinking of everything in terms of unity. 1876 was, in fact, the year which marked the downfall of the party of the Right, who, after Italy was made, set about to make the Italians.

It is with considerable disappointment that one lays down the thick volume, with its abundant if not particularly fresh material. The first chapter, "Caractère de la Réforme en Italie", characterizes the Italian Reformation as rather on discipline than on dogmas, and explains the fact, asserted without hesitation, that Luther found more followers in Italy than did Calvin, the reason being Luther's greater latitude on the matter of the will. Yet far more Italians found refuge at Geneva than elsewhere when the persecutions began, and the quarrel with the Reformers beyond the Alps came not on account of predestination. The only conspicuous Lutheran among the Italian leaders was Vergerio, and he would have been a Calvinistic leader had fortune thrown him into the Calvinistic camp. Whatever lay at the bottom of the Italian Reform—and the causes, on the evidence cited by Rodocanachi, were not here much different from elsewhere—the outcome was the sharpest contest on dogma which ever divided the ranks of the Reformed, that on the divine nature of Christ; the teaching of Italian reformers on this was, and is, their contribution to the history of religious thought during the Reformation. But the author so seldom ventures on a synthesis of the facts he has marshalled in order, that it seems ungrateful to carp at any of his excursions into generalization. Thus the greater part of the "Causes qui Favorisent le Développement de la Réforme" contains a wealth of illustration of clerical immorality and religious fervor and criticism of the pope, but it does not appear clearly just why attacks on discipline resulted in Protestant tracts instead of a peasants' rebellion or a schism in the papacy or a Utopia, if the Italian Reformation "s'attaqua plutôt à la discipline qu'aux dogmes, aux représentants de l'Église qu'à l'Église elle-même" (p. 1).

The account of the Academies, a subject which still remains to be estimated in its relation to heresy in Italy, is perfunctory, and there is not one reference to the idea developed by Wernle that the doctrine of justification came from the Platonic Academy at Florence, drawn through Plotinus and Augustine to St. Paul; and that Colet, Erasmus, and Lefèvre all imbibed it of Ficino. Most welcome is the evidence of acquaintance with original sources (though the chapter on the "Moeurs du Clergé" alone rests on unprinted matter); and intriguing is the printing in the appendix of a selection from Ochino's Dialogues—chosen on what basis the author does not say—followed by extracts from the printed treatises of Cardinal Contarini, and a catalogue, also accessible in print, of the library of Vermigli.<sup>2</sup> Timely, though not aspiring to be exhaustive or of more than casual satisfaction, are lists of the principal editions of the works of the propagators of the Reform.

Typographical errors are unpleasantly frequent.

FREDERIC C. CHURCH.

<sup>2</sup> With names of classic authors quoted now in French, now in Latin, just as happens.

*A History of Political Theories from Rousseau to Spencer.* By WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, Litt.D., Lieber Professor of History and Political Philosophy in Columbia University. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1920. Pp. lx, 446. \$4.00.)

IN completing this, the third and last drama, as it were, of his trilogy, Professor Dunning may very well say, "Exegi monumentum", and his readers may very well add, "Bravo". He has traced the history of political theory "from the days of Socrates to those of Herbert Spencer", for twenty-three centuries, through seventy-seven generations of mortal men. It is hardly a history of progress (few would say that Spencer had gone beyond Socrates): it is rather, perhaps, a history of the wheel coming full circle—not indeed that Spencer is Socrates *redivivus*, but rather, as Professor Dunning says, that to-day's "nationalism is but the theory of the city-state writ large", while to-morrow's socialism may be Plato's republic, brought down from the heavens where he left it to our human earth. All manner of vicissitudes have filled the interval—city-states, world-states, nation-states; divine monarchies (from Alexander to the last of the German kaisers), sovereign parliaments, sovereign pontiffs, direct primaries. Facts, and the theories based on facts, have boxed the compass. And yet the state is still with us, and—unless syndicalists have their day—it will remain with us; and the popular structure it shows, and the broad functions it assumes to-day, are closer to Greek times than anything we have seen for centuries.

In this volume Professor Dunning covers some 120 years, from Rousseau's *Du Contrat Social* of 1762 to Spencer's *The Man versus the State* of 1884. There is hardly a thinker, American, English, French, Italian, or German, who is not treated, and treated adequately, so far as the scale of the volume permits. Personally, I am sorry that Mazzini and Carlyle are omitted: if they were not professional theorists of politics, they yet thought and wrote much about politics; and I should have been glad to see an appreciation of T. H. Green, one of the profoundest of the English theorists of the period. I am sorry, too, that Professor Dunning ends in 1880; for his *terminus ad quem* excludes Émile Durkheim, one of the most remarkable French thinkers of the period, as it also excludes Tarde and Duguit. Some of them might have been historically treated. I find, for instance, an excellent chapter on Durkheim and the sociological school in D. Parodi's *La Philosophie Contemporaine en France*. Among the Germans I should like to have seen some account of Jellinek's *Allgemeine Staatslehre*; it has long since, I fancy, displaced Bluntschli's books, and is the classical work in Central and Eastern Europe. But I am grateful for excellent accounts of other German thinkers, among which I should signal out, as especially suggestive and useful, the accounts of Fichte, and of Lorenz von Stein, a thinker who (Professor Dunning convinces me) deserves very close attention. On the other hand, Gierke's *Deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht*



(with the all-important chapter II. of its third volume, published as long ago as 1881, and translated by Maitland under the title of *Political Theories of the Middle Age*—a translation which has had great influence), fails to find admission.

Perhaps the most serious defect in Professor Dunning's volume is his treatment of Rousseau. He does not seem to have used Professor Vaughan's monumental edition of Rousseau's political writings, and he has repeated some ancient errors from which a use of that edition would have saved him (as, for instance, the error that Rousseau believed in a return to "nature"), while he has not appreciated the curious and unreconciled mixture, in Rousseau's theory, of Locke's individualism and Plato's collectivism. One of the best elements in the volume is the account of nationalism, and of the various strands of thought which are woven together in nationalistic theory. Almost equally good is the account of what is called "Societarian" Political Theory, though this would have been still better if, in the first place, more had been said of the distinction between state and society (of which much has been written latterly), and, in the second place (as has already been suggested), some space had been given to recent sociological theory in France.

The end of all, however, is gratitude to a veteran in his subject for a work which shows that his hand has lost none of its cunning.

ERNEST BARKER.

*Napoleon's Navigation System: a Study of Trade Control during the Continental Blockade.* By FRANK EDGAR MELVIN, Ph.D. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania. 1919. Pp. xv, 449. \$2.50.)

THIS monograph, prepared under the auspices of Professor Lingelbach as a part of his general scheme for economic studies in the Revolutionary-Napoleonic time, is a notable contribution to the commercial and institutional history of the Napoleonic Era. The author's investigation has been unusually wide and deep. Practically unused economic and administrative cartons in the Archives Nationales were thoroughly combed, the Public Record Office searched as far as the state of classification permitted, the American diplomatic and consular archives dissected, and the private collections of American statesmen and diplomats used to an extent hardly indicated by the excellent bibliography, which, with the foot-notes, would make this work, if nothing else, a valuable guide-post for future investigation in the same general field.

The author has set himself the double task of tracing in every detail the evolution of the Continental blockade from the Berlin Decree to the downfall of the Grand Empire, with special reference to the system of licenses and permits; and of deducing the policy and meaning of this evolution, and, indeed, of the Continental blockade system itself. His "chief emphasis, therefore, is institutional" (p. xi). His vantage-



point is that of the imperial Secrétairerie d'État. Every decree has been pursued to its ultimate source. The system in actual operation is described at important points. The influence of military and naval events is somewhat neglected, but several new side-lights have been thrown on American diplomatic history; indeed no student of Jeffersonian and Madisonian diplomacy can afford to neglect a careful reading of this work. One finds, for instance, that Jefferson's Embargo was severely felt, not only in the French West Indies, but in the ports and textile centres of France.

Professor Melvin's challenging title suggests his conclusion. The Continental system began as a blockade against English industry and commerce. By the first half of 1810 what had so far been an *arrière pensée* became the dominant policy—to develop French navigation, commerce, and industry at the expense alike of vassals, neutrals, and enemies. The license system, which here finds its fullest treatment, arose from no crude lust for graft and plunder. It was a glut in French harvests, for the most part, which induced Napoleon to adopt the system of licensed trade with England at the very point when England was facing famine and bankruptcy. In the middle of 1810, Napoleon's tour of the northern industrial and commercial regions completed a change in his point of view. *Tout pour la France* was the motto of the revamped system. By tariffs and licensed navigation, Napoleon hoped to build up not only a French grand industry but a French merchant marine, to secure the monopoly of foreign and coasting trade, at expense of enemy vessel and neutral alike. The workings of this system, "a Colbertian programme upon a continental scale", through its central clearing-house, the new Conseil de Commerce, are related in detail by Professor Melvin for the first time. Of particular interest is his account of the American permit system.

The faults of the book are those of the class in which it stands high—the American doctoral dissertation. Although the author has reached definite conclusions, he lacks the artistry to press them home on the reader, who is wearied and confused by the welter of minutes, decrees, laws, and projects of laws. The style is subjective, addressed apparently to students who share the author's fresh and complete knowledge of the sources. Nothing stands out. Excessive quotation has been avoided, only to fall into that other pitfall, excessive detail without sufficient quotation to nail a conclusion. Where standard authorities like Henry Adams might have been demolished, they are only piqued by foot-notes. The dramatic possibilities of the subject have been neglected, or, as with the fateful thread of American relations, clumsily handled. Comparison with a French doctoral dissertation in an allied field, Guyot's *Le Directoire et la Paix*, is instructive. Melvin is the superior in the extent and depth of his research. He had plumbed depths even in the Archives Nationales unknown to Guyot; and the latter did not master even the printed material on the American side of his problem.

But Guyot has produced a readable book, whose characters are alive, whose complicated, involved subject-matter is made lucid, and whose conclusions are irresistible.

S. E. MORISON.

*Germany and the French Revolution.* By G. P. GOOCH. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1920. Pp. vii. 543. \$5.50.)

THIS book bravely attempts for the first time in any language a synthetic treatment of "the repercussion of the French Revolution on the mind of Germany". It is a great task, and one that much needed doing. Mr. Gooch has conceived it largely and if he has not achieved the high success of writing a definitive work he has written an exceedingly useful and necessary volume. What Cavaignac, Sorel, and Heigel have done in the field of politics and war for the history of the Revolution beyond the borders of France, he has sought to do for its influence on the writers of Germany in an age when it was truly a land of poets and thinkers. He is more dispassionate than Cavaignac, more limited and intensive in his field of interest than Sorel, less cautious and historical in his judgments than Heigel. He has read as widely in his chosen field as any of them but is less penetrating and analytical in his treatment.

Mr. Gooch's method evidently springs from the qualities that have made him so useful a guide in the field of historiography. He is an omnivorous reader with an intellectual digestion that does not require him to chew his food very fine. In this book he has presented, in their own words as freely as a good narrative style permits, the expressions of all types of German opinion on the Revolution, from fugitive pamphleteers to Goethe, Schiller, Fichte, and Hegel. He has harvested the field with chapters on the great writers and on groups or schools, and then has gleaned it by sweeping together the fugitive and unknown writers, state by state or section by section, from Hamburg to the Alps. Let me say at once that this method seems to me just the proper one for a path-breaking work. It gives, as no other work has done or attempted to do, the preliminary massing of material, the inclusiveness in mentioning writers unknown in English whose views must be considered if such a large and nebulous topic as public opinion and intellectual influence in any land touching or touched by the French Revolution is to be brought between the thumb and forefinger of historical judgment.

Not even Mr. Gooch could cover all that was written by such a nation of inveterate scribblers as Germany in the face of an event so great as the European revolution. No collection of contemporary German pamphlets is complete. None ever will be. The archives of every German state are filled with the reports that poured in from diplomatic representatives at other German courts, and these must be studied again from this new point of view as they have been for political and military

history. Enclosed with these reports are frequently pamphlets that no library contains and that are just as important as those they do contain. But counsels of perfection yield to the pleasure of seeing treated, even if briefly, scores of names that have been known only to special students within Germany itself—and many of them are men of real importance from the standpoint of the public opinion of their day and area. He passes over von Reden and von Dohm unmentioned, and certainly does not give Schön his due. Indeed one shortcoming of the book lies in the casual treatment of the men of action of the period, great and small, who were influenced by the French Revolution either through imitation or reaction. There is a probably intentional omission of the Corsican and American revolutions and the Polish struggle as backgrounds, though it must not be forgotten that Paoli and Washington were the early heroes of many who later sang the praises of Mirabeau and Mounier. As might be expected, Mr. Gooch's knowledge of the monographic literature is very satisfactory, although when he refers to Guglia as the best account of Gentz he is evidently unfamiliar with Reiff's penetrating monograph in the University of Illinois *Studies*, and he occasionally slips in the citations of German titles.

As an interpreter Mr. Gooch is not so sure a guide. This is partly because he has concentrated his efforts on the acquisition and presentation of masses of information, rather than on reflection about their implication and origin. The French Revolution is too simple a formula in explaining utterances concerning the French Revolution. The attitude of the mature leaders of German thought about an event so overwhelming even as the French Revolution was conditioned by a political philosophy, an interpretation of society and its structure and functions, that was based on German thought before 1789. In his treatment of the greater literary men at the close of the eighteenth century he too readily ascribes to the French Revolution what a nicer discrimination might have suggested as their heritage from English thought since the days of Bolingbroke. Cosmopolitanism in culture was an ideal of the eighteenth century, and in matters economic and political the influence of "the philosophers" and of Adam Smith had started currents of thought on the Continent that met and often reinforced the stream of ideas that flowed from or were started by the great French events of these decades. It was this interchange that increased likemindedness about political and social conditions which were different chiefly in degree from country to country. Mr. Gooch shares this accepted view and starts with Mallet du Pan's prescient remark that "Whoever regards this Revolution as exclusively French is incapable of pronouncing judgment upon it." In practice he finds it easier, however, to attribute opinions of complex origin to the single theme he has in mind. There is a certain inevitableness in this treatment against which the historian of thought needs to be *toujours en vedette*. Otherwise he will not rise above the current

journalism that attributes all radical or even progressive thought to Russian bolshevism.

His opening chapter on Germany in 1789 presents two contrasted views not wholly covered by "political decrepitude" and "intellectual rejuvenescence". The chapter on Goethe is only ordinary, that on Schiller good, and the treatment of Herder is perhaps the best of any individual writer in the front ranks. The chapter on the Romantic school is in leading-strings to older views. The concluding chapter is a tired *non sequitur* of three pages on the destruction of the old German Empire and eighteen pages on the political renaissance of Prussia after 1806. In this Mr. Gooch has done but scant justice to his own work in the preceding twenty chapters.

This review has missed its purpose if it has directed the reader's thought too exclusively to the author's method. Reviewers are likely to be reservationists. I should like, in this case (the inevitable reservation!), to ratify unqualifiedly the author's choice of a subject and express my appreciation of his sturdy effort to treat it adequately. He has produced a thoroughly useful volume. It should be the starting-point for a series of special studies in English upon which will rest ultimately the final synthetic historical judgment.

GUY STANTON FORD.

*Europe, 1789-1920.* By EDWARD RAYMOND TURNER, Ph.D., Professor of European History in the University of Michigan. (New York: Doubleday, Page, and Company. 1920. Pp. xii, 687. \$3.50.)

THIS book traces in broad outline the institutional life of Europe from the days of the Ancient Régime to the present time, narrates briefly the principal events during that period, and gives an account of international relations, with full attention to those in Europe after 1900. It preserves a due proportion and balance between political history on the one hand, and on the other, a description of social conditions, of institutions, and of progress in science, mechanical invention, the fine arts, and literature. It is thus a broadly inclusive treatment of all the chief phases of European life on a scale commensurate with a volume of 659 large pages.

The book is divided into two parts, the first of which extends from 1789 to 1871, and includes 291 pages, the second from 1871 to 1920, and includes 368 pages. The author thus has given due regard, not only to the demand that historical science shall not deal too largely with political phenomena, but also to the belief, not so generally accepted, that the most recent years of history should receive major consideration.

Any unfavorable criticism of so sound and substantial a piece of work as this book seems ungracious. Yet it contains occasional statements which will convey an erroneous impression, particularly to the

uninformed reader. In contrasting the British and American systems of government, for example, the author says: "In the American system the president is indeed dependent upon the people who elect him, but afterward, throughout his term, he is practically uncontrolled, save by public opinion" (p. 150). Ex-President Wilson could give some convincing testimony concerning the effectiveness of other agencies, which may control executive action. With regard to German legislation providing for sickness, old age, and accident insurance we find this sentence: "In effect he [Bismarck] went further than any statesman before him in establishing state socialism and so leaving the socialists with nothing to fight for" (p. 343). This is not intended to mean that after the enactment of the laws in question, the socialists ceased their struggle for economic and social reform, yet it probably would leave such an impression with the casual reader. In the author's opinion "it was an almost fortuitous combination of causes which brought the result" [the French Revolution] (p. 47), while concerning the Great War he writes: "... it is evident that certain great causes were tending almost irresistibly to the awful catastrophe that came" (p. 514). The French Revolution, on the contrary, possesses to an extraordinary degree the character of inevitability, while in causing the Great War human will and choice were the supreme factors. The author's own presentation of the causes of the war, in part II., chapter X., and statements which he makes elsewhere (as on pp. 495, 496, 499), afford evidence that the cataclysm could have been averted.

Several statements concerning the military history of the war are open to objection, as the following, for example: "... by the autumn of 1915 the Germans had definitely won the war on the Continent of Europe" (p. 548). And the following sentence also seems to require emendation: "In the course of three weeks almost by a miracle they [the French] accomplished the maneuver [of "shifting a large number of soldiers"], but by the end of September, when this had been done, the French armies had undergone a succession of disastrous defeats" (p. 543). The French troops were shifted to meet the German onslaught from the north long before the end of September; battles at Mülhausen, Virton, Neufchâteau, and Charleroi were indeed defeats for the French, though by no means disastrous, for the armies engaged were in no case disorganized, but were drawn back in good order to fight in the decisive battle on a more favorable ground; the defeats named all occurred in August; by the end of September the battle of the Marne had been fought and the Germans driven back from thirty to sixty miles on a front of about one hundred and thirty.

Omissions are always excusable because of limited space; yet it seems as if even a necessarily brief presentation of the events of the Twelve Days (pp. 528-530) ought to include a statement of the central and vital fact, of supreme significance in fixing responsibility for the war,

that Russia and Austria came to terms concerning Serbia by August 2, and that Austria did not declare war on Russia until August 5; and in explaining the entrance of the United States into the war (pp. 564-566), no mention is made of the killing of American citizens, the destruction of American property, or intrigues against our internal peace.

The treatise, however, in spite of minor blemishes, is a work of merit. It is well proportioned, authoritative, and comprehensive. The facts and views presented, the points of view and relative emphasis, are evidence that the author is in touch with the newest thought and information in the field of recent European history. From the great mass of material available his keen eye for the essential has enabled him to make a judicious and discriminating selection, and he has presented his facts in a compactly organized and coherent form.

The treatise, moreover, is unique. It covers a period which nowhere else is given unified treatment, and presents a great fund of information not found in any other single volume. It is not based on research, and so makes no addition to the sum of historical knowledge, but it is new in that it views European development since the French Revolution from the standpoint of the Great War and its results to date, and thus has a new perspective, and in consequence some new interpretations of events. It will make a superior text-book, because it deals with essentials, and is clear, coherent, concrete, and not overloaded with detail. It will also serve as a valuable introduction for the uninformed reader to that great period in the progress of European civilization since the French Revolution, a period which is given organic and vital unity by the stupendous extension of democracy and by the Industrial Revolution with its manifold results.

At the close of each chapter is a brief, classified, well-selected, and therefore useful bibliography. The thirty-two maps include four devoted to ethnology and economic resources, and five on Africa and Asia.

EARL E. SPERRY.

*Freiherr vom Stein.* Von MAX LEHMANN. Neue Ausgabe in einem Bande. (Leipzig: S. Hirzel. 1921. Pp. 623. M. 60.)

BETWEEN 1902 and 1905, Max Lehmann, professor of history at Göttingen, published his chief work, a three-volume life of Baron Stein. The Prussian reformer had waited long for an adequate treatment. Pertz, his associate in publishing the *Monumenta*, had edited six volumes in which he combined in an indistinguishable and uncritical mass, excerpts from the Stein archives, comments of his own, and summaries of Stein's own comments and documents. The lesser biographies that followed, such as Neubauer, as well as limited biographical material in Seeley's *Life and Times of Stein*, were based on Pertz. A thorough study of the man, his period, and the old Prussian state on the eve of the reform era was much needed.

Professor Lehmann was equipped as are few men for the task of making such a study. He had long worked in archives and as a writer had contributed much to our knowledge of Prussia during the revolutionary and Napoleonic era, chiefly in his excellent life of Scharnhorst. His biography of Stein was to crown his long life of productive scholarship and be a definitive treatment. It must be said that though it may have fallen short of this high aim, it was a very distinguished and illuminating biographical history.

Its reception was not one of unmixed commendation, for Lehmann's views of the *ancien régime* in Prussia were decidedly unfavorable and he attributed the spirit and even in a degree the form of Stein's measures distinctly to the influence of the French Revolution, especially during its early years under the Constituent Assembly. The latter view Lehmann unfortunately elevated to the position of a thesis and developed aggressively in his chapter on Stein's city ordinance of 1808, where some paragraphs originating in the draft of his subordinate Frey were translations from the French municipal law of 1791.

Such views, whether right or wrong, coming from a thoroughly bourgeois Prussian professor, steeped in, and expounding, the period of liberal dominance in Prussian history, were sure to arouse a typical German professorial *Federkrieg*—and a five-foot shelf of controversial literature resulted. The chief proponent of the Teutonism of Stein and his measures was Ernst von Meier, who was well qualified to take the field against such a practised and bitter controversialist as Lehmann. For the first time his own methods against Naudé were turned on him. Not only was his thesis repudiated, but his misuse of his sources in suppressing, misapplying, and glossing over Stein's essentially hostile attitude to everything French was hurled at him, and a steady barrage of *Gegenschriften* followed the heavy ordnance of Meier's two volumes on *Französische Einflüsse auf die Staats- und Rechtswentwicklung Preussens im XIX. Jahrhundert*.

It must be said that on the whole Lehmann and his chief supporter Delbrück came off second best. Hintze's adverse judgment is by no means to be quoted unreservedly, but more judicious writers like Otto Gierke felt that Lehmann had gone too far. At the same time no dispassionate critic called for a complete rewriting of the biography of Stein. The book was accepted for its real merits, and the first edition was practically exhausted by 1914.

Under present conditions a reprinting of three volumes was impossible. Lehmann has now compressed them, and by omitting all footnotes has in two-fifths as many pages given about one-half the material in the first edition. The special student will regret as keenly as does the author all the omitted parts, especially the survey of old Prussia in the second volume. If the first edition is not at hand this section may be found in the *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. XC.

In the view of the controversy over the first edition one turns most



eagerly to see what effect it has on Lehmann's choice of material to omit. So far as the reviewer has been able to determine, every controverted paragraph and sentence has been religiously reprinted in absolutely unmodified form. Indeed, in the abbreviation, they stand out all the more aggressively and disproportionately. Lehmann has evidently felt that his personal character was at stake in reasserting *verbatim et literatim* even the passages that a dispassionate observer must adjudge as discredited by hostile critics. Even a German professor ought to know when to retreat, and character in the world of scholarship is quite as often proved by the admission of mistakes as by their repetition.

The only essentially new sentence I have found in this edition is the cryptic conclusion: "Bedroht fand sich Steins Ideenwelt erst, als abermals imperialistische Tendenzen emporkamen, durch die dann staats- und kulturfeindliche Mächte entfesselt wurden."

And yet it is not a lame conclusion to say that Lehmann's work is indispensable for any student of the man or period. Only the passages where he brings out Stein's debt to the German past and to the English institutions and ideas, and especially to Adam Smith, must be emphasized in the reading. The alternative is to wade through much still pertinent critical literature. Even if the validity of the thesis about French influence has been sadly riddled, the Prussian noble of Stein's day will find, as he deserves to find, few defenders as ardent as Ernst von Meier was before 1914.

GUY STANTON FORD.

*A History of the British Army.* By the Honorable JOHN W. FORTESCUE, LL.D., Hon. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Volumes IX., 1813-1814, and X., 1814-1815. (London: Macmillan and Company, 1920. Pp. xxv, 534; xviii, 458; and separate volume containing thirty maps. £4 4s.)

THESE two volumes of Mr. Fortescue's excellent work, containing almost a thousand printed pages, deal with the events of only three years, but they were, indeed, three most memorable years in a military point of view. Beginning with the spring of 1813, the general situation in Europe is briefly but lucidly reviewed. The independent operations of the British troops on the east coast of Spain are necessarily treated apart. Their commander, Sir John Murray, whose failure was sufficiently discreditable, is bitterly denounced as a cowardly and dishonorable man, unworthy to hold a commission or wear a uniform. His successor, Lord William Bentinck, was not much more fortunate, and his liberal opinions excite Mr. Fortescue's strong displeasure. A taint of political prejudice, unfortunately, is evident in many passages, especially in several rather spiteful allusions and foot-notes referring to the real or imaginary errors of Sir William Napier, in his famous *History of the*



*War in the Peninsula*. Napier's radical views are genuinely abhorrent to Mr. Fortescue, and seem to obscure his merits as a historian. Besides, it is nothing short of astounding to find Lord Castlereagh described as "the ablest of our Ministers of War", and the Duke of York as "our best Commander-in-Chief" (X. 182).

The campaigns of the main British army in Spain and the south of France afford a much more congenial topic, as they were a succession of uninterrupted victories, with the exception of the first assault on San Sebastian. Still, the present narrative, meritorious and painstaking in its effort to ascertain and state the facts, is without a doubt commonplace and tame when compared with Napier's glowing pages, and possesses little of their picturesque charm. Comparison is unavoidable, in fact is challenged by frequent disparaging references, and when it is made, the present work must suffer. Mr. Fortescue has, he states, visited most of the principal battlefields, where probably the *terrain* is little altered, and has thus laudably endeavored to secure accuracy of description, and, perhaps, add touches of local color; but Napier had the inestimable advantage of being there when the battles were fought, and was besides endowed with remarkable gifts of keen observation and vivid narration, which have justly given his volumes a reputation not easily discredited.

The battle of Vitoria, as the climax of a very brilliant campaign, is carefully and well described at much length, in some thirty pages. The ground has been closely studied, with good results, as it has not materially changed. Yet the conduct of Joseph Bonaparte is handled with singular moderation and even tenderness throughout. Napier has asserted that the great results of this short campaign of six weeks, in which Wellington's army of one hundred thousand men marched six hundred miles through a difficult country, crossed six great rivers, gained a decisive victory, invested two strong fortresses, and drove a superior number of veteran troops from Spain, could not have been attained had Joseph obeyed Napoleon's instructions. This opinion is rudely challenged by Mr. Fortescue, who thinks that Napier "missed the essential truth that Wellington's triumph was one of organization rather than of strategy and tactics". "Joseph", he continues, "could neither halt nor concentrate, because he was unable to feed his troops. Wellington's supplies were always hunting for his army, Joseph's army was always hunting for its supplies; and thus, whereas to the Allies a halt signified replenishment, to their opponents it spelt starvation." There is, no doubt, much truth in these remarks, but Wellington's talents for organization would have counted for little had they not been combined with a great genius for strategy and tactics, never more signally demonstrated than by his mode of turning the line of the Ebro and the handling of his troops in the attack upon the French positions at Vitoria. Nor is there any real reason to believe that Napier in any way underrated Wellington's remarkable efficiency in organizing a special service of

supply and transport, without which his successful advance would have been clearly impossible.

A well-written chapter on the organization of the British army in Spain at this time, contains much information respecting the commissariat, medical service, military police, changes in equipment, and relations with the navy which cannot readily be found elsewhere.

In his account of the battles in the Pyrenees and in the south of France and the sieges of Pamplona and San Sebastian, the chief authorities cited by Mr. Fortescue are, on the British side, Wellington's despatches and Napier, although the latter is often flouted and unreasonably accused of concealment and misrepresentation; and on that of the French, the correspondence and documents lately published by Captain Vidal de Lablache of the historical section of the General Staff. In some cases at least, these seem to have been verified by comparison with their originals. He does not appear to have consulted the notable work of Lieut.-Col. J. B. Dumas, entitled *Neuf Mois de Campagnes à la Suite du Maréchal Soult*.

Soult, himself, for whom Napier had much respect, is rather unpleasantly described as "a big, rough, coarse man, vindictive in temperament, surly even to brutality in character, and above all things self-seeking and greedy of gain" (IX. 242). Yet it is admitted that he was "an extremely able administrator, acute of perception, keen of insight, swift and firm of decision. As a general his strategic gifts were remarkable" (*ibid.*).

Two chapters, containing some sixty-five pages, are devoted to Soult's desperate efforts to relieve the frontier fortresses. His eventual escape from the difficult situation in which his troops had become involved is ascribed to an unwise movement of retreat, which Hill had been ordered to make by Wellington, instead of the accidental capture of the three British marauding soldiers at San Estevan so strikingly described by Napier on Wellington's own authority, "as having deprived one consummate commander of the most splendid success, and saved another from the most terrible disaster".

The passage of the Bidassoa and the campaign ending at Toulouse are treated with great care and skill, yet it does seem that perhaps undue stress is laid upon Soult's alleged errors of judgment and vicious dispositions. Nor does Wellington escape adverse criticism. Mr. Fortescue is seldom altogether satisfied with his management of any battle, nor does he make sufficient allowance for defective intelligence as well as defective means for achieving victory. His criticisms are sometimes captious, at others plainly pedantic.

Nearly one-half of volume X. is devoted to the campaign in the Low Countries and the battle of Waterloo. It is doubtful whether justice is done either to Napoleon or to the Prussian generals, particularly Gneisenau, who is called timid, jealous, suspicious, and "ignorant of the meaning of good faith". Yet the latter are given credit for conducting

one of the most successful pursuits in military history (X. 413). The Belgian generals, Constant de Rebecque and Perponcher, are awarded a somewhat overstrained meed of praise.

Wellington's personal influence and dauntless example in inspiring his troops with confidence throughout the day at Waterloo are finely told. It is not too much to say that his presence and personality did accomplish miracles in heartening and rallying his sorely tried men whenever there appeared to be any danger of yielding.

Although he is not portrayed as an ideal leader, nor as a lovable character, "not without vanity, not without frailty, not without a certain conceit", yet there is little doubt that, as Mr. Fortescue writes, "His true title to fame is that he was the most industrious, the most patriotic, the most faithful, and the most single-hearted public servant that has ever toiled for the British nation" (X. 226).

In a chapter entitled Summary of the Period, 1803-1814, much information is marshalled, in an admirable manner, that can scarcely be found elsewhere. The functions of the different branches of the British War Office, as then organized, are reviewed concisely and much light is thrown on some obscure points.

One short chapter is given to the unsuccessful expedition led to Holland by Sir Thomas Graham in 1814, and three others of considerable length to the war with the United States, excluding the naval operations. These are not distinguished by the introduction of new material, nor by much originality of treatment. In the latter some rather astonishing inaccuracies occur. "Lieutenant" Oliver Perry is twice mentioned as having built and fitted out his squadron at *Fort Erie* (IX. 324, 327), and there is a reference to "Burlingham" Heights at the head of Lake Ontario (X. 124). Questionable liberties have been taken in altering the language of professed quotations from official despatches (IX. 323, and X. 124).

A well-reasoned plea is made for justice to the merits of Sir George Prevost, which is counterbalanced by a denunciation of amazing violence of Sir Alexander Cochrane, as being responsible for the failure of the expedition against New Orleans.

The maps and plans, thirty-one in number, besides ten insets, are of unusual excellence, and the author was undoubtedly well advised, in delaying the publication of these volumes for five years, as he states in his preface, to admit of their preparation.

E. A. CRUIKSHANK.

*Geschichte Europas seit den Verträgen von 1815 bis zum Frankfurter Frieden von 1871.* Von ALFRED STERN. Band VIII. Zweiter Band, Dritte Abteilung. *Geschichte Europas von 1848 bis 1871.* (Stuttgart and Berlin: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger. 1920. Pp. xviii, 563.)

THIS volume of the *Geschichte Europas* is perhaps less interesting

than its predecessor (see *Review*, XXIV, 680), for the period which it covers (1853-1862) was in large part one of *recueillement* after the revolutionary upheaval. But if the domestic history of these years is enshrined in the Bach "system" and the reaction under Manteuffel, the problems of international politics were of constant concern and their solutions reacted profoundly upon later events in Central Europe. Dr. Stern therefore writes his story around the Crimean War and the subsequent developments in Southeastern Europe, the Neuchâtel controversy, and the war of Italian independence. Only at the end does he turn to a systematic discussion of those fundamental issues which are nearest to his heart and upon which the fate of Europe depended—the struggle for constitutional government in Austria and Prussia. It is quite proper that the narrative should break off with the complete failure of Francis Joseph's first experiments and the entry of Bismarck into the Prussian ministry, but one is left none the less impatient to know how this German historian, ardent liberal and champion of nationality that he is, will react to Dualism and the policy of blood and iron. There is an exhaustive chapter on the emancipation of the serfs in Russia, as well as an adequate treatment of French politics and progress under the autocratic empire; but Garibaldi's exploits in the South and the later stages of Italian unification are, for some reason, not considered, while, in keeping with the general plan of the book, English affairs are treated only incidentally, as party politics affect the international situation. The final chapter, on Main Currents of Intellectual Life, provides a convenient summary of literary movements and the tendencies in historical writing in France, England, and Germany; particularly interesting is the appreciation of Taine.

As always, Dr. Stern is chary of interpretations and analyses, apart from his admirable thumb-nail sketches of the leading personalities. At the same time he never forgets his main cue, which is the elusive character and somewhat incalculable diplomacy of Napoleon III., for whom he has no great admiration; so much so, indeed, that the ultimate responsibility of the tsar for the Crimean War is only implicitly stated. Yet the French emperor had a policy, which was at all costs to march with Great Britain, and many quotations from unpublished reports of Persigny, the French ambassador in London, who was opposed to a policy of adventures, show how often the attitude of the Foreign Office was decisive. In the last analysis, Napoleon would not sacrifice the English alliance even for the support of Russia in his general continental policy.

The most illuminating chapter, especially in view of recent events, is that devoted to Austria. Hapsburg statesmanship was already bankrupt sixty years ago. We are shown an emperor irresolute save in his hostility to the democratic spirit, an unending succession of changing ministers, four of whom commit suicide, financial chaos, reluctant conces-

sions to this race or that class; in short, the sheerest opportunism in place of a constructive policy fair to all. According to a contemporary, whose opinion the author quotes with evident sorrow, at the end of 1862 even the German Liberals, the party of centralization who were the supposed beneficiaries of the February Patent, were disgusted with Schmerling, while his enemies had become more and more determined.

Meanwhile a similar opportunity was lost in Germany. Dr. Stern writes with restraint, but his sympathies clearly lie with the progressive party, whose programme for a liberal Germany under Hohenzollern leadership had aroused a rising enthusiasm far beyond the confines of Prussia. He does not, as it seems to the reviewer, emphasize sufficiently the economic factor in the growth of this sentiment, but he shows clearly the influence of the new school of historians, who may have gone too far in championing the Prussian cause but were at least liberal in their aspirations. Very aptly does Dr. Stern mark the coming of Bismarck as the "end of the new era". On the other hand, even liberal opinion, as indicated in scattered passages of the narrative, was not over-friendly to France, a fact of which Napoleon III. was all too unconscious.

An appendix contains some documents drawn from various archives. The most important are an autograph letter of Francis Joseph, practically an ultimatum, to the sultan in connection with the Montenegrin difficulty in January, 1853, and a report to Vienna of the special envoy sent to Berlin on the eve of the Italian war to beg for Prussian assistance. Apparently one more volume will complete this monumental work.

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT,

*Ferdinand Gregorovius, der Geschichtschreiber der Stadt Rom, mit Briefen an Cotta, Franz Rühl, und Andere.* Von JOHANNES HÖNIG. (Stuttgart and Berlin: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger. 1921. Pp. xi, 551. M. 55.)

THE month of January, 1921, saw the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Ferdinand Gregorovius, and the house of Cotta in Stuttgart has appropriately celebrated that anniversary by the publication of his biography.

Only a third, however, of the substantial volume supplies the biography; the remainder is devoted to the publication of a large number of letters written by him to his publishers, the Cottas, and to his younger friend, the historian Franz Rühl, professor at Königsberg.

The reviewer cannot feel that the resulting expensive book will be of great interest to the historical world. The author and editor, Dr. Johannes Hönig, was first drawn to his subject by his doctoral dissertation on *Gregorovius as a Poet*, which appeared in 1914; and in the preface to the present volume he emphasizes the fact that he has written primarily a chapter in the history of literature. Henry Simonsfeld's short biography of Gregorovius in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* has not lost its value to the historical student.

The historian, for example, would expect to find in the life and letters of a distinguished scholar who lived in Rome almost without interruption from 1852 to 1874 a mass of interesting observations on contemporary conditions in Italy. He would be disappointed. There is, of course, in the present book something of that element; but, as a rule, the biographer has limited himself to Gregorovius's literary development. The published letters are strikingly devoid of political interest.

The reason is evident. This present collection of letters is chiefly concerned with the business relations of Gregorovius with his publishers, and with Rühl, who prepared his indexes. His really interesting private papers have long been in print—his *Roman Journals*, since 1893, his letters to Hermann von Thile, since 1894, and those to the Contessa Erisilia Caetani Lovatelli, since 1896.

I would not suggest that the book is of negligible interest to the historian. Dr. Hönig has with considerable success drawn the portrait of an enthusiastic Young German of 1848, who later became a sympathetic cosmopolitan gentleman of the old school, half historian, half aesthete, and who, in spite of constant references (by himself and his biographers) to his true German patriotism, was clearly far more at home in Italy than across the Alps. Particularly interesting is it to note the conflict in himself between the "liberal", on the one hand, who, identifying his liberalism with national patriotism and anti-clericalism, sympathized in theory with Young Italy, and the mediævally-minded aesthete, on the other hand, who deplored the passing of the old Rome of the popes. In 1859, the year the first volume of his history of the city appeared—and it is worthy of note that Gregorovius was prouder of his work on Lucrezia Borgia than of his *magnum opus*—he lamented the approaching end of the old city, and in November, 1870, he writes (p. 153), "while my work is ending, Rome is dying."

Of more present suggestiveness, perhaps, is it to note his attitude toward the newer Germany. In 1888, after Frederick III.'s death, which he lamented, he writes (p. 177), "The world, oppressed by militarism, sighs for a Messiah. . . . Perhaps Frederick III. could have brought disarmament nearer. . . . Germany's finest glory should be that men might say of her what Isocrates said of Greece, 'She is the school of nations'. But even if we proudly measure the heights and depths of German learning we . . . must not listen to those who prophecy the intellectual *Weltherrschaft* of Germany. No single nation can longer claim either political or intellectual supremacy. Let us see to it that in the new epoch of our political power, we do not lose that high idealism of the time of our political impotence. The true 'German idea' is to bring about the kingdom of moral freedom, of truth, of justice, of duty."

T. F. JONES.

*La Fine dell'Esercito Pontificio.* Per Colonnello ATTILIO VIGEVANO.

Con 37 illustrazioni e tavole a colori e 7 carte e piani topografici.  
(Rome: Stabilimento Poligrafico per l'Amministrazione della  
Guerra. 1920. Pp. xix, 864. 100 lire.)

THIS ponderous work could not have been written before the Great War. So long as imperial, reactionary Austria threatened Italy from the summits of the Alps, the question of the restoration of the temporal power of the papacy in Rome was still open; and while this question was open, and while papal opposition continued against the participation of the faithful in the elections of modern Italy ("neither electors nor elected"), an impartial study of the organization and operations of the extinct papal army that had been created to prevent the completion of Italian unity was not to be expected.

Colonel Vigeveno has long been occupied in the study of the last years of the papal army, and has published other important military studies of the Risorgimento period in the *Memorie Storiche Militari* of the Italian General Staff, in *La Nuova Rivista di Fanteria*, and in other reviews. His studies have always evinced sound historical method, and in the present volume, dealing with events which have hitherto formed the subject only of polemics and of biased history, his critical work is so nicely balanced as to satisfy only the open-minded.

The volume contains much technical detail and many tables upon military organization, but the body of the work is of great interest also to the general historian; it is prefaced by a sketch of papal military institutions from 1849 till 1870, and concludes with a brief study of the subsequent adventures of the French papal zouaves in the Franco-German War. A great number of documents are given in the text, many of them previously published in Cadorna's *La Liberazione di Roma*, in Bonetti's *La Liberazione di Roma*, and in de Beaufort's *Histoire de l'Invasion des États Pontificaux*, but many are here published for the first time from the Regio Archivio di Stato di Roma, Ministero, Armi Pontificie, and other archives; unfortunately the other archives are not indicated, and bibliographical references after the first chapters leave much to be desired.

The document which offers the most important historical contribution is the original text of the famous letter (until now only known in an altered version) addressed by Pope Pius IX. to his commander-in-chief and acting war minister, General Hermann Kanzler, on September 19, 1870. In an audience of September 10, upon which Vigeveno gives entirely new information, the pope had informed his general that he must offer only such resistance to the Italian army in its operations for the occupation of Rome, as should be necessary to prove to the world that the papacy was a victim of aggression. "We ask you to surrender, not to die; that is to say, we ask of you the greater sacrifice." The pope's letter upon the same subject, as now published by Vigeveno, di-



rects: "That negotiations for surrender shall be opened as soon as the cannon shall have opened fire . . . ; never let it be said that the Vicar of Christ, however unjustly assailed, has given his consent to any shedding of blood."

The order to cede thus without offering a resistance was altogether distasteful to General Kanzler, a German soldier who cared more for his military reputation than for the saving of Italian blood. He therefore chose to disobey his sovereign, neglecting to issue the orders required; he allowed resistance to be protracted for more than four hours after the cannon opened fire, and raised the white flag only when a breach had been made in the city walls and nearly three hundred men had been killed or wounded. The pope was greatly grieved at the prolonged fighting, believing at the moment that it was due to unwillingness on the part of the Italians to desist from firing, and learning only later that it was due to failure on the part of his own commander to carry out sovereign orders. A few hours later Kanzler had a private audience with His Holiness. What transpired at it has remained a complete secret to this day. But when, on September 21, the pope's letter of the 19th was given to the *Civiltà Cattolica* for publication, two phrases in it were altered so as to cover the general's disobedience; the pope was made to order "that negotiations for surrender shall be opened as soon as a breach shall have been made", instead of, *as soon as the cannon shall have opened fire*; and the words "great shedding of blood" were substituted for, *shedding of blood*. To avoid an exhibition of insubordination in the last hour of the temporal power, Pius IX. thus preferred to assume before the world a responsibility for bloodshed that was not his; and all historians, both clerical and Italian, have until now quoted the substituted text of the papal letter of September 19, which indicated this responsibility.

From documents given it is clear that both Pius IX., and at the last Kanzler also, were convinced that the Italian troops would not actually attack Rome; on the morning of September 19, the latter said to His Holiness, "The King of Sardinia will never risk the using of violence against the representative of God in his own residence." And it is equally evident that the Italians did everything possible to enter Rome without bloodshed.

Vigevano may be criticized as being too severe in his condemnation of the papal colonel Serra for having surrendered Civitavecchia, on September 16, without offering resistance to the Italian fleet and army. Serra was an Italian, however, and in avoiding bloodshed at Civitavecchia and the damaging of the city, he did only what the pope wished to have done at Rome. Nor has Vigevano succeeded in always avoiding errors of fact, as when he states the surprise of Kanzler at finding in the conditions for surrender offered by Cadorna that the pope was to be left in full possession of the Leonine City with Castel S. Angelo.

The truth was that, so long before as August 29, the Italian government had promised this in a memorandum sent to the various powers of Europe, and this promise must have been known in Rome.

The writer, while free in his criticisms, treats the papal army always with respect, and his words in summarizing the papal operations of September 1870 are: "Pallida fine d'un buon esercito."

H. NELSON GAY.

*The Memoirs of Count Witte.* Translated from the Original Russian Manuscript and edited by ABRAHAM YARMOLINSKY. (Garden City, N. Y., and Toronto: Doubleday, Page, and Company. 1921. Pp. xi, 445. \$5.00.)

THIS is a notable and highly interesting book, written we are told while the author was abroad, where he could keep his manuscript from the curiosity of the too inquisitive police of his own country. He has given us not so much a systematic biography as a running commentary on events with which he was connected and people with whom he was brought into contact. It is the story of a strong, rough man who fought his way to greatness and played a leading part on the European stage during the last years of the nineteenth century and the first of the present one. Throughout these years Witte stands forth as unquestionably the foremost man in Russia, head and shoulders above those about him, most of whom hated him and whom he in turn despised. We can see him as he was, direct, incisive, contemptuous of all who disagreed with him—and most people did—and we can admire his enterprise, his tireless energy, his sane judgment, and his astonishing fertility of resource. As for his judgment of men and things, though he was an avowed conservative, his criticisms of the old régime are severe enough to satisfy any radical, and his remarks about the people he dealt with are nothing if not pungent.

On the other hand we do not get a pleasant idea of his own personality. His book is one long paean on his faultless achievements, for which others get little credit. For instance, he ascribes entirely to his efforts the concession by China to Russia of the prolongation of the trans-Siberian railway line through Manchuria. One would never imagine from his words that the arrangement had already been discussed, and was supposed to have been practically agreed to, before Li Hung Chang came to St. Petersburg, and that it is still generally known as the Cassini Convention. Witte never mentions the name of Cassini; if he had done so it would probably have been in disparagement. The one man that he speaks of in terms of admiration and reverence is Tsar Alexander III. For Nicholas II. he can have had little but contempt, which, however, is decently expressed; in fact he probably disliked the tsar less than the tsar disliked him. His last chapter, *My Impressions of the Kaiser*, makes good reading and though hostile is not grossly un-

fair; but in the previous one, Stolypin's Reactionary Regime, the violence of Witte's language betrays his hatred of a rival and a successor. Thus from first to last his memoirs are marred by his lack of generosity in his appreciation of others, as well as by his egotism and his continual boasting about his own accomplishments. As a supplement and corrective to the picture that he gives of himself one may recommend the keen and not unkindly study of him in the recently published *Memoirs* of Isvolski.

Nevertheless few would deny that Witte's achievements in the fields of both domestic and foreign politics were very notable. His chief accomplishments were as a financier, though it is an open question whether his economic policy was sound, and was not productive of more evil than good. He put Russia on a gold basis, he accumulated a reserve which enabled her to meet the strain of the disastrous war with Japan, he built up great modern industries and he enormously increased her revenues, he successfully engineered a whole series of gigantic loans, thanks to which he was enabled to carry out his projects of railway-building and of developing the natural resources of the empire and later to restore its status after the war. To this his critics reply that the whole burden of this one-sided progress fell on the unfortunate peasantry, the class which of all others was in the sorest need of assistance, and on whom the permanent welfare of Russia must eventually rest, that the industrial development fostered by the government was an unhealthy, artificial creation, and that already in 1904 the country was in the throes of a severe economic crisis (which characteristically Witte does not refer to in his book). This dispute will never be settled. The convulsions Russia has passed through since have so changed everything, that none can say what would have been the outcome of Witte's system if it had been able to follow a normal course. At its height it was impressive, indeed the all-powerful minister created a whole administration dependent on him alone, which occupied itself with many things besides finance. In regard to the one of his creations which has been universally condemned, the famous vodka monopoly, which did such tremendous harm to the peasantry and whose repeal he later advocated, he defends himself by saying that the evils came in only after the law was carried out by his successors, from the sole point of view of the benefit of the treasury and not in the spirit of moderation in which he had conceived it. This is hardly convincing or in strict accordance with the facts.

Apart from financial questions, Witte's attitude was frankly conservative. Although full of scorn for the officials and even more for the aristocracy in Russia, he had no sympathy for democratic aspirations. What he believed in was an efficient despotism. That of Nicholas II, having proved inefficient, Witte was in favor of making such concessions to popular government as would prevent revolution and might produce reform. He claims no credit for the liberal manifesto of Oc-

tober 17, but does for the constitutional provisions issued just before the meeting of the first Duma.

In foreign politics Witte seems to have regarded England as the natural rival of Russia. For the United States and for President Roosevelt he felt little sympathy, as is evident by his ill-natured remarks about his visit here. The political combination that he would have preferred, and that he thought possible if rightly managed, was an alliance between Russia, Germany, and France; none the less, as soon as he learned the real nature of the Björkö treaty, of which he had approved in ignorance of its contents, he exerted himself strenuously to have it cancelled. Incidentally he claims to have played a decisive part in bringing about the Algeciras Conference and thus settling the first Franco-German Morocco dispute. In the Far East, besides being instrumental in making the Manchurian railway agreement, he founded the Russo-Chinese Bank, which was the chief agent of the aggressive Russian policy of penetration. On the other hand, he condemned the acquisition of Port Arthur both on moral grounds and as leading to the war with Japan; but his own policy toward China had much the same ends in view. If gentler, it was hardly more moral, and was equally likely to alarm the Japanese. In the hour of defeat and the painful negotiations for the Treaty of Portsmouth he showed skill and firmness, even if his triumph was due less to his abilities than to the strong desire of the Japanese to make peace for reasons not then known to him.

When all is said and done, the *Memoirs* of Count Witte are the record of a very remarkable man who, whatever his faults, deserved well of his country and under more favorable circumstances might have ranked among the great statesmen of the age.

ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE.

*The Strategy on the Western Front (1914-1918).* By HERBERT HOWLAND SARGENT, Lieut.-Col., U. S. A., retired. (Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company. 1920. Pp. vi, 263. \$2.50.)

THE author, who had retired from the army in 1911, was recalled to active service in 1917 and attached to the War Department General Staff. As one of the group detailed to study the progress of the war and advise the War Department in strategy and kindred matters, it is evident that he enjoyed exceptional opportunities for a detailed and progressive examination of the situation on all fronts.

In memoranda prepared during the war for the information of the Chief of Staff, Colonel Sargent persisted in the view that the war could not be won on the Western front, and advocated the concentration of a large American army in the Balkans for a deep thrust northwards, to destroy Germany's allies and eventually to compel a decision with Germany on the Eastern front. The book now under review is given over largely to a reiteration and defense of the views set forth in these memoranda.

This contention shakes our confidence in the author's understanding and judgment. It was on the Western front that Germany, strongly reinforced, sought a decision before America could duplicate the British success in raising a large army and placing it on the Continent. Events proved that the Allies, who had no choice but to meet the attack, were none too strong when the successive blows of 1918 came. The decision of the Allies to launch a counter-offensive when the German armies were fairly exhausted was unquestionably good strategy. The need for a timely and powerful counter-offensive could be foreseen by all except those who were willing to concede defeat, and for this operation the Allies needed all the troops America could send overseas. Armistice Day would not have seen two million Americans in Europe if the Balkans had been selected as the field for our main effort. In 1918 the decision lay on the Western front, and luckily this was the flank that America could reach most quickly and with the greatest strength.

So much of Colonel Sargent's book as deals with the advantage of a main American effort in the Balkans is a brief in behalf of his war-time memoranda, rather than an impartial study in the light of established facts, and on that account its value to the military student is seriously impaired.

In the leading chapters Colonel Sargent discusses Germany's "three great mistakes". The alleged mistakes were the decision to attack France first, in 1914, the offensive on the Western front in 1916, and the final offensive in the spring of 1918. In each instance the author contends that Germany's proper field of effort at the time lay on the Eastern front. His reasons are wholly inadequate. It is difficult, for example, to credit his assertion that Great Britain would have remained neutral if Germany merely had stood on the defensive on her western frontier in 1914, and had concentrated to destroy her enemies in the East, leaving France to be disposed of later. Competent French, British, and American military minds are substantially agreed that the three offensives were sound in conception and purpose. Failure in execution is not the final test.

In spite of the advantages that the author enjoyed during the war, it must be said that he appears to be uninformed and biased. There is no justification for his sweeping condemnation of Allied and German strategy. One receives the impression that Colonel Sargent is learned in books on strategy, but lacks the information, imagination, and judgment of an instructive critic. His book is a collection of revised memoranda and magazine articles, of limited value or interest to the student of history or strategy.

A. W. B.

*Von Kiel bis Kapp: zur Geschichte der Deutschen Revolution.*

VON GUSTAV NOSKE. (Berlin: Verlag für Politik und Wirtschaft. 1920. Pp. 211. M. 25.)

THIS is a comprehensive and important book by the socialist author of *Kolonialpolitik und Sozialdemokratie*. It covers the period of Noske's career from his appointment as revolutionary governor of Kiel, in November, 1918, until his dismissal as minister of national defense after the Kapp rebellion of March, 1920. The book, which is written in picturesque German, is packed with facts concerning the great personalities and the principal economic, political, and military events of the revolution, and explains with frankness and sincerity the important decisions of the Ebert government.

The chapters devoted to Noske's activities in the Kiel naval district form the first accurate account of that revolt of eighty thousand sailors, which was the prelude to the November revolution. The author is not certain that the German admiralty planned in October, 1918, to attack the British fleet. However, Admiral Scheer states in his memoirs that the fleet was ordered to proceed to the Belgian coast. In the Reinhardt controversy, Noske denies that the Prussian Minister of War saved Berlin from the Spartacans in January, 1919. He gives the credit to the troops with which he, as a People's Commissioner and commander-in-chief in the Marks, entered the capital on the morning of January 11. As Colonel Reinhardt had the day before stormed the *Fortwaerts* stronghold, he is undoubtedly entitled to the credit of holding the Spartacans at bay, until Noske marched from Dahlem. The author fails to mention that during the March rebellion he issued a false report of a massacre in Lichtenberg, which he used to justify his order of March 7, 1919, to exterminate the Spartacans (p. 109). He does not explain his order of June 21, 1919, prohibiting the railway strike, which was disavowed by the government. Although Scheidemann in *Der Zusammenbruch* has severely criticized Noske's drastic expressions in favor of peace, the author's arguments for accepting the terms of the Treaty of Versailles seem convincing.

Noske's account of the Bermont-Awaloff campaign illustrates the Russian policy of the German Republic. In this affair, the reactionary German officers were able to conceal their real plans from the socialist minister. Noske admits that he learned many of the details only after Bermont's failure (p. 180). Documents of Bermont, now in the Hoover War Collection, prove the duplicity of these Prussian militarists. The reviewer notes that Noske does not even mention the allied control of the Russian prisoner-of-war camps in Germany, which had an important effect upon the course of the revolution. The author asserts that after the armistice the socialist government enforced the old imperial law for universal military service in the eastern provinces in order to raise fresh troops (p. 113). The German

army numbered four hundred thousand men at the conclusion of peace (p. 167).

Noske quotes many of the attacks against his policies and denounces his opponents with extreme bitterness (p. 204). He exposes with equal fearlessness the corruption within the Social Democratic party. His analysis of the economic collapse of Germany is masterly. In his exposure of the conditions in the government factories of Kiel and Spandau, he shows the effects of the doctrine of socialization upon the German proletariat.

As a contribution to the history of the German revolution, the book of Gustav Noske is of immense value. It is a convincing account of the progress of the revolution in the face of attacks by Independents and Spartacans as well as by monarchists and reactionaries. The tragedy revealed by this memoir, is that the socialist deputy Noske believed in the *rocher de bronze* of Prussian militarism, but was deceived in the end by the very generals whom he had saved from the mob.

RALPH HASWELL LUTZ.

*History of South Africa from 1873 to 1884: Twelve Eventful Years.*

By GEORGE MCCALL THEAL, Litt.D., LL.D. In two volumes.  
(London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 1919. Pp. xvi, 352;  
xi, 312. 17s.)

THE labors of the indefatigable chronicler of South Africa have now reached a period "within the memory of men now living". The latest volumes, covering the period from 1873 to 1884, "twelve eventful years", as the subtitle announces, "with continuation of the history of Galekaland, Tembuland, Pondoland, and Bethsuanaland until the annexation of those territories to the Cape Colony, and of Zululand until its annexation to Natal", bring his monumental work with its extraordinary collection of series A, B, C, and now D, with their many editions and reissues to series D, volumes 10 and 11, the whole forming a veritable library in themselves. It is needless to say that all this represents an extraordinary amount of industry on the part of their author, and that it provides an immense mass of material relating to the history of South Africa. But it is only fair to say that in some important particulars these latest volumes, like their predecessors, with all their value, leave something to be desired as history. They are, in effect, rather chronicles than history in the modern sense. They have neither foot-notes nor references, and one searches in vain for the authorities for what are, especially in these present volumes, matters of high controversy, both political and historical. That lack is not greatly offset by the inclusion of tables of statistics, like those on the Revenue of Natal (II. 230-231), with similar data scattered through the books. For, especially in the years covered by these vol-



umes, there is a mass of material, histories, biographies, memoirs, state papers, and the like, to which undoubtedly Mr. Theal had access, and which he used for his narrative, but of which he gives no hint in his pages.

And that, in so controversial a period as the epoch of the Zulu War and the Boer War of 1880, is a distinct misfortune. Mr. Theal tells the story of Rorke's Drift, of Laing's Nek, and Majuba Hill, with the negotiations which preceded and followed, the annexation of territory, the war for independence and what came of it, of Mr. Gladstone's "surrender", clearly and intelligibly, if not forcefully. It is a fascinating chapter of history. Doubtless, in the main, things happened as he describes them. He does not seem to have added much that is new to the story or to our knowledge of the subject. But there remains a suspicion that while this is the truth, and perhaps nothing but the truth, it is not—possibly at this time it could not be—the whole truth. For truth in this period of South African history is not, so far as one can judge, entirely drawn up from the bottom of the well. And were it known, it might be highly embarrassing at such a time as this to present it without some decent garb. No one could imagine Mr. Theal suppressing any facts relevant to his story. His work has always been transparently honest, conscientious, and informed with a painstaking spirit of fairness to all sides in the many controversies which fill especially the nineteenth century.

And when all is said and done, he deserves much of his countrymen. He introduced South Africa to the community of historical nations. He blazed a broad trail through what was before his time not much more than a wilderness. It may remain for later comers to make highways and cross-roads, to divide the land into cultivated fields, to bring forth unsuspected treasures from its soil. But that is not the task of the pioneer. And no one, not Garneau, nor Bourinot, nor the historians of Australasia, has done more to bring his land within the circle of historical interest than Theal. With these volumes his work concludes. There is scarcely anywhere a more touching account of a historian's last hours than is afforded by the note at the end of these volumes. It is reminiscent of a similar passage in the life of Green. Any review of this his last, as well as his latest, work would not be complete without some tribute to one who for half a century had devoted a great part of his energy and time to such a task as his. And one may well echo the sentiment of the Senate of the University of South Africa and share the hope of those who "look forward with confidence to the establishment of a South Africa school of historians who must always regard him as their founder". From them we may look forward also to the next chapter of this history, the Boer War, whose complexities may task even the judicial impartiality of the followers of Theal, but whose history is worthy of the best efforts of such a school.

WILBUR C. ABBOTT.

## BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

*A Hidden Phase of American History: Ireland's Part in America's Struggle for Liberty.* By MICHAEL J. O'BRIEN, Historiographer, American Irish Historical Society. (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company. 1920. Pp. xv, 533. \$5.00.)

THE racial or linguistic composition of the American nation in 1776, or of the Revolutionary army, is an important and interesting subject. Mr. O'Brien has taken up one section of the problem, the Irish, and, working with great industry and energetic research, has compiled a book of real value and importance, marred by some serious faults. No one could read any five pages of the book without perceiving that the author has undertaken his task in the spirit of an advocate. This has been the custom of almost all who have written about the national or linguistic elements in America to which they have themselves belonged, and there has been so much disposition to minimize the importance and influence of the Irish element that a certain degree of warmth of advocacy on Mr. O'Brien's part is only natural. It does not, however, form the best temper for securing permanent results of the first value in historical writing. Not only does it weary the reader to encounter, over and over again, these phrases about "gross libel", "gross injustice", "damning proofs of the apparently deliberate attempts of these historians to hide the truth"; but it has also had a strong effect upon the author's estimates of the value of evidence. His chief merit lies in having accumulated so great a mass of evidence that no just reader, paying due attention to that portion of the evidence which is solid, will fail to admit that the Irish element in the Revolutionary army, and in the American population of that time, must have been greater than is commonly supposed. But Mr. O'Brien himself is far from being sufficiently critical as to his evidences. All is fish that comes to his net, and he often lays a maximum of emphasis on testimonies that have no value at all.

A striking instance of this defect is his treatment of the well-known remark of Joseph Galloway about Irish troops in his examination before the House of Commons. To this "remarkable utterance", which has no probative value at all, he devotes a dozen pages, and even prints a facsimile of a passage in it, as he finds it in Rivington's *Royal Gazette*. At another place, Mr. O'Brien thinks it worth while to publish a facsimile of an item in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 1773 regarding the statement of a sea-captain who left Dublin about the first of June, declaring that upward of 18,000 people had left Ireland for America since January. Have we not figures of emigration from Ireland for that year, from one of the best statistical authorities of the time, that show such a statement to be but a sea-captain's yarn?

Mr. O'Brien's accumulation of facts and instances is impressive,

and rightly so, but when it comes to dealing with statistics his method is amateurish and uncritical, though what a careful reader would most desire is a body of well-based percentages. When Mr. O'Brien comes to that point, he contents himself with saying (pp. 134, 135) that after careful calculation he has determined that 35.83 per cent. of the soldiers of the Revolutionary army were Irish. He has reached these results mainly, it appears, by counting Irish names. He shows impressive totals of such numbers, and does not seem always to see that what the reader most wishes is ratios. He finds (p. 222) that "on the Revolutionary muster-rolls of Massachusetts there are approximately three thousand Irish names." That sounds large, but if one observes the composition of the volumes entitled *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors*, one finds that it is 3000 out of 190,000, so extensive is the duplication, the habit of that compilation being to make separate entries of the same name found in different muster-rolls unless there is certain evidence that they represent the same person. His 2083 names in New York lists, 4000 in those of Maryland, and 3000 in the two Virginia volumes, are taken from books that list, respectively, 44,000 and 20,000 and 44,000 names. If this were all, the Irish element in the Revolutionary army would not have risen above four or five per cent. Now, in the two large lists of Loyalist claimants that give the country of birth, the Ontario list and Mr. Egerton's, out of 1358 claimants, 146, or eleven per cent., say that they were born in Ireland (more than in England). But if a good computation for Pennsylvania could be made, it would raise considerably the percentage of Irish in the Revolutionary army. Of the bravery of that element, and the value of its achievement, there is no question.

In later chapters Mr. O'Brien goes into the further question, how largely this Irish element in the army or nation was "Scotch-Irish", or rather, he scouts the whole notion of a distinct Scotch-Irish element as mythical. He is quite right in saying that the usual habit of the eighteenth century was to give simply the name Irish to all who came from Ireland, and certainly the Scotch-Irish writers in the United States have been as prone to "claim everything" as Mr. O'Brien himself. Certainly, however, there is a broad distinction between Presbyterian and Catholic Irish, though the problem of their relative proportions in the American population of that time is excessively difficult. Arthur Young, a far better authority than most of those whom our author quotes, and one whom he is well content to cite in other connections, says strongly, in various passages of his *Tour*, that nearly all Irish emigration to America was Presbyterian, and Sir Thomas Newenham, a high authority, indicates that nearly all of them came from the North of Ireland ports. On the other hand, Mr. O'Brien says (p. 287) that of the 576 vessels sailing from and to Ireland registered at the New York or Philadelphia custom-houses, as an-

nounced in the newspapers of 1771-1774, when Irish emigration was especially abundant, 329, or 57 per cent., sailed from or to Cork, Dublin, and other southern ports. And he seems to be an honest calculator, if not always critical. By accumulation of instances he indicates the presence of many thousands of Irish in Massachusetts before 1790; and yet the *Boston Directory* of 1780, among its 1300 or 1400 names, contains not forty of those that Mr. O'Brien lists as peculiarly Irish—not an O, and only three Mac's that are not plainly Scottish. All these questions are more difficult than he seems to think, and what is said about them in the Census Bureau volume, *A Century of Population Growth*, though naturally quoted by many as authoritative, is in reality fundamentally erroneous.

An appendix contains a list of 1500 Revolutionary officers of Irish birth or descent that Mr. O'Brien says he has found. The list is not carefully composed and it is subject to a good deal of reduction; 73 of them were in the French-Irish regiments, 80 were "officers" on privateers, 70 or more seem to be pretty certainly duplicates. Mr. O'Brien will hardly maintain that "James Mease, Commissary, Penna. Troops", and "James Mease, Paymaster and Treasurer, Continental Army", are two distinct persons, or that the officers of the Pennsylvania State Regiment of Foot all became new persons when its name is changed to Thirteenth Pennsylvania. As to establishing any ratio, the reviewer knows of no complete list of officers in the Revolutionary army, but of commissioned officers who served in the United States navy and marine corps in the Revolutionary War there are authoritative lists. These officers number 304, and only five of them are in Mr. O'Brien's list of officers. Another long appendix lists all the non-commissioned officers and enlisted men, of the twelve chief Irish names, that Mr. O'Brien has found in the Revolutionary army and navy. He says (p. 218) that no individual name has been repeated; but this, for reasons indicated above, cannot be true.

To sum up: Mr. O'Brien has produced a book of considerable value, but if his object is not simply to edify the Irish-American, but to convince thoughtful persons not Irish, he would have assured a more permanent position to his book by sifting his evidence more carefully and not claiming so much.

J. F. JAMESON.

*The Last of the "Mayflower"*. By RENDEL HARRIS. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1920. Pp. 122. 5s.)

*The Finding of the "Mayflower"*. By RENDEL HARRIS. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1920. Pp. v. 58. 4s. 6d.)

THESE two books written by a distinguished scholar, showing an extraordinary amount of research and study on the interesting problem

of what became of the Pilgrims' ship, the *Mayflower*, and both published in the same year, illustrate in a curious way how conjecture and probabilities can be used to supply the place of definitive evidence.

In the volume first printed, *The Last of the Mayflower*, Dr. Harris claims to have established that among the ships which sailed for New England in 1629 and again in 1630 was the *Mayflower* of 1620, and that as late as 1653 the same ship was employed in carrying to Boston goods for John Eliot. He submits letters from John Eliot and a bill of lading of 1653, described as "Invoice of Goods Sente on the May Flower of Boston (Master Thos. Webber) for Boston in New England consigned unto Mr. John Elliott Paster the Church of Roxbury", etc., and devotes nearly sixty pages to prove that the *Mayflower* is also the ship of Thomas Horth of Yarmouth and engaged in the Greenland whale-fishery, and is also the ship whose owner and master in her last days was Thomas Webber of Boston. He states his conclusion: "It is very doubtful if anything more is to be said as to the fate of the *Mayflower*. We traced her to Boston and to the year 1654. . . . Most likely she was broken up in Boston or perhaps in the Thames on her last voyage to London."

In the *English Historical Review* for October, 1904, in an article entitled "The *Mayflower*", by R. G. Marsden, it is shown with many illustrative references that the name *Mayflower* was a very common name in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. "There could not have been fewer than forty or fifty *Mayflowers* existing between 1550 and 1700, and some of the larger ports of the Kingdom of England possessed two or even several *Mayflowers* apiece."

The most satisfactory evidence as to the fate of the *Mayflower* is found in an application made to the Admiralty Court on May 4, 1624, by the owners of three-fourths of the *Mayflower*, including the widow of Christopher Jones, for her appraisal. The appraisal was made by two mariners and two shipwrights, and the basis of the application for the appraisal of the *Mayflower* was the fact the she was "in ruinis".

Dr. Harris disposes of that appraisal upon an explanation which to him seems very simple, that the appraisal is for the widow's fourth part and not for the whole ship; but an examination of the appraisal indicates conclusively that the valuation of fifty pounds which the appraisers fixed was for the whole ship, for they say in terms that "having viewed and seene the Hull, mastes yarges boate Winles and capstan of and belonging to the said shipp", they do estimate the same at fifty pounds. They also estimate the value of the five anchors, one suite of sails, three cables, two hawsers, shrouds, and stays, with all the other rigging. That clearly is not a valuation of the widow Jones's fourth of the vessel but the valuation of the entire ship, a ship whose usefulness was ended and beyond repair, a ship "in ruinis".

Until some further evidence is introduced which overturns this record, it seems to be clearly established that the year 1624 saw the last

of the *Mayflower*. The interesting speculations then as to whether the *Mayflower* was in the East Indies or later a whaler, or whether it could be identified with Mr. Webber's *Mayflower* or Mr. Vassal's *Mayflower*, are of little real importance.

It is unnecessary to discuss the meaning and effect of the appraisalment of the *Mayflower*, and whether the allegation in the petition for appraisalment that the *Mayflower* is "in ruins" means that the vessel is already broken up and never again to sail the seas, for in *The Finding of the "Mayflower"*, Dr. Harris bases his argument in support of the discovery of the timbers of the *Mayflower* upon the fact that the *Mayflower* was broken up in 1624. The earlier book rests on the author's assumption that the "appraisalment is for the widow's fourth part and not for the whole ship", and the later book, upon the undoubted and admitted fact that the appraisalment is for the entire ship.

In *The Finding of the "Mayflower"*, which volume he describes "as the culmination and crown of my researches into the story of the Pilgrim Fathers", his thesis is to establish that the timbers of the *Mayflower* now form part of the timbers of an old barn at Jordans in the county of Bucks. The direct evidence in support of his conclusions may be briefly summarized: (1) that the *Mayflower* was broken up in 1624; (2) that at that date the barn was built; (3) that the timbers of the barn are ship-timbers; (4) that the timbers are timbers of the ship *Mayflower* because, (a) the cracked mainbeam of the barn "is the cracked beam of the original *Mayflower*", (b) the inscription on a beam in the wall of the barn contains the letters—R. H A R—I C— which he interprets to have originally been MAYFLOWER, HARWICH, and (c) the carvings on an old door in the house "of what appears to be a rose".

If we take these claims in their order it will be easily seen that on the evidence submitted they rest on conjecture and hope, not on real proof. No evidence is furnished to show the date when the barn was built except the opinion of a Thames shipbuilder that it was built "more than two hundred years ago", and the fact that the bricks in the foundation measure  $8\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{3}{8}$  inches, which do not correspond to the regulation size of bricks in the seventeenth century, and which discrepancy he explains by the suggestion that these bricks "are earlier in date than the operating control" or were "imported bricks, say from Holland". The same shipbuilder is relied on as a witness to establish the fact that the timbers and beams are from "old ships' beams and frames", and he estimates the dimensions of the "Schooner" from which the timber came to be "about 90 ft. long, 22 ft. wide and 10 ft. deep and would carry about 150 tons". The testimony of his expert seems to dispose of the theory that the cracked beam "is the great beam in the *Mayflower*". His conclusion is that the crack "is a natural 'windshake'", and "must have been put on at the time of the construction of the barn". Dr. Harris

frankly recognizes the weight of the expert's opinion and states that "we must not too hastily identify the crossbeam of the barn with the great beam amidship of the *Mayflower*".

The inscription has little persuasive force. His photographer, "a man of very quick vision", who was with him at the time of the discovery of the inscription, quickly read it as R. HARRIS. It might be a fair inference that the photographer was also somewhat of a joker, but Dr. Harris takes him seriously, and at a "somewhat later date" Dr. Harris determines the letters of the mysterious alphabetic sign to be R. HAR\*I\* and then cheerfully expands it into the necessary lettering for his purpose by adding before the R. the letters MAYFLOWE and in the second word placing the letters W and CH, and the puzzle is solved and we have the hoped-for and looked-for name MAYFLOWER, HARWICH. But the doctor frankly says, "On closer investigation I begin to be sceptical of the letter R which we have suggested to be the terminal of the *Mayflower*."

Nothing material remains to support his hope that he has discovered the timbers of the *Mayflower* except the carvings of a flower on the old door. The photograph of the door which he gives in his book goes far to support the doctor's statement that the carving "is clearly conventional". There is no evidence offered that the door ever came from a ship, and the author's argument is best stated by himself. "If it came from a ship . . . we should expect . . . that the flower had something to do with the ship or her owners. She should be the *Mayflower* or the *Mary Rose* or the *Marigold*."

There is little presented to justify the widely heralded announcement that the timbers of the *Mayflower* have been found in an old English barn. The real value of the book lies in the investigation, very carefully made, which tend to show that one of the owners of the *Mayflower*, Robert Child, lived only a few miles from Jordans, and that Richard Gardiner, a *Mayflower* passenger, may be traced to the same neighborhood.

*The Quit-Rent System in the American Colonies.* By BEVERLEY W. BOND, jr., Associate Professor of History in Purdue University. With an Introduction by CHARLES M. ANDREWS. (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1919. Pp. 492. \$3.00.)

DR. BOND has singled out for fullness of treatment the whole matter of the quit-rent as one item in the colonial land-system. It is a subject which justifies the exhaustive and careful study which he has given to it. The greater portion of colonial lands were held by feudal tenure, and the quit-rent, the chief bond between lord and tenant, was a payment which reached down and affected the lives of most men. It is a study which goes to the bottom of things. It is comprehensive



in time and place, dealing with the subject through the whole course of colonial history and through all the colonies, mainland as well as islands. Students welcome this scholarly work because for the first time there is made known the origin, place, and importance of an obscure and seemingly trivial payment, in a book which is scholarly, logical, and comprehensive.

The first chapter gives a concise account of the English origins of the rent. Feudalism in England was an evolution, having a long history and deep legality behind it. In America a feudal and aristocratic system was supported by neither. The quit-rent in England was a release from burdensome services, in America it was an additional burden upon a debtor class. And the staple of the history of the rent in the colonies is the persistent opposition of the New World to a system of control and vassalage transferred from the Old. The quit-rent played its part in Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia, in the Revolution of 1689 in Massachusetts, in the overthrow of the proprietary régime in South Carolina, and in the agrarian riots in East Jersey and other places. It is to be numbered among the contributory causes of the American discontent after 1765. It was opposed not only by the farmers, but also by land-speculators. The collection and enforcement of the rent furnished a subject of bitter dispute between the popular assemblies and the proprietary or royal officials. It involved the question of payment in specie when the colonies lacked hard money. The history of the rent throws light on the character and personnel of English colonial administration. All these matters, and many others, are fully and clearly explained and described by the author.

Dr. Bond published a preliminary study of the subject in the pages of the *Review* for April, 1912 (XVII. 496-516). This book is the result of great labor and search among additional sources both here and abroad. The book is based upon a wide and careful examination of all discoverable material, printed and manuscript, as is evidenced by copious foot-notes and the bibliography. Indeed the use of unpublished sources found in England, and in collections of historical societies and state archives in this country, would alone entitle the book to a large place in the literature of the colonial era. The author has not only discovered the facts exhaustively, he also explains them logically and clearly in a concrete and rather sober style, and he does not hesitate to pass judgment on the facts.

In one sense the subject is narrow, as dealing with only one item in the colonial land-system. In another sense the study is broad. The manner in which Dr. Bond treats the subject is a good illustration of the large degree of unity in colonial evolution. He treats each colony or feudal area separately, but at the same time he brings out the fact that the quit-rent was a problem common to almost all of the colonies and that the attitude of one colony toward the rent

was of considerable influence on the conduct of other colonies. His study reveals colonial unity in another way, the common relations of the colonies to the home government. Dr. Bond's book about closes the chapter on the quit-rent and hereafter one who wishes to know anything about the matter will refer to this work. No scholar or student of the period can afford to neglect this work, and none but scholars or students will read it.

Professor C. M. Andrews contributes an admirable introduction, setting forth in general terms the importance of the subject, and at the same time pointing out the need of approaching the study of colonial history in a more rational manner than was the case with the older generation of historians.

W. T. ROOT.

*The Royal Commission on the Losses and Services of American Loyalists, 1783 to 1785, being the Notes of Mr. Daniel Parker Coke, M. P., one of the Commissioners during that Period.* Edited by HUGH EDWARD EGERTON, Beit Professor of Colonial History in the University of Oxford. (Oxford: Printed for presentation to the Members of the Roxburghe Club. 1915. Pp. lv, 422.)

THIS handsome and carefully edited volume, which forms a valuable addition to the materials for the history of the American Loyalists, was printed on behalf and in memory of Mr. Whitelaw Reid, late United States ambassador to the court of St. James. As it had been the custom in the Roxburghe Club for each member to bear the cost of publication of a small edition of a single work for distribution among his fellow-members, Mrs. Reid arranged with the president of the club, the Earl of Rosebery, to determine the nature of the volume to be issued as a memorial of her husband as the one American member in this notable little group of Englishmen. Happily Lord Rosebery selected the Coke Papers, which came into the possession of Mrs. Reid on the dispersion of the Phillipp's manuscripts, of which they had formed a part, and Professor Egerton was persuaded to undertake the task of editing the papers and of writing the introduction to the volume.

After the distribution of the book in England the surplus copies were sent aboard the steamship *Arabic* for shipment to the donor in America, but were lost when that vessel was torpedoed by a German submarine. The volume has since been reprinted and presented to certain libraries and individuals on this side of the Atlantic.

The Coke Papers comprise the memoranda taken by Mr. Daniel Parker Coke of the evidence presented before the Royal Commission on the claims of the American Loyalists during the time of his connection with that body. In part this evidence consists of 395 memorials, a few of these being joint memorials of two or more claimants, and in part of

the testimony of the memorialists and of witnesses more or less conversant with their circumstances, losses, and loyalty to the king during the American War. Professor Egerton is careful to explain that the papers have not been published in their entirety, on account of the necessity of keeping them within the limits of a single volume; but he has sought to include all the evidence which bears upon the social and economic history of the time, including the price of land and of slaves, professional earnings, etc., and he has taken pains to give us the exact language of the witness in every case. The partizan activities, or services to the British cause, of the more prominent Loyalists, are usually disclosed at some length.

In his introduction the editor first discusses, in the light not only of the Coke Papers but also of a mass of printed material, contemporaneous and modern, why the Loyalists, who were numerous and in official control at the beginning of the Revolution, failed to influence the course of events in the American colonies. He finds the explanation of this failure in their tardiness in organizing for aggressive action, in their undue reliance on the measures and military commanders of the mother country, in the disregard of the Tory regiments by Generals Howe and Clinton, in the unpopularity of the British cause in Virginia on account of Lord Dunmore's blundering operations, in the upsetting of Col. John Connolly's plan to sever the Northern from the Southern colonies, in the premature action of the Loyalists of North Carolina, in the attachment of the Indians to the British and the indiscriminate massacres by the former in South Carolina, and in the disgust inspired in the better element of all parties in the Southern districts by the excesses and depredations of the British and Hessian troops.

After noticing the strength of loyalism in the South from Maryland to eastern Georgia, Professor Egerton gives examples of the bitterness which characterized the mutual relations of Whig and Tory in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, where the king's friends were strong enough to be greatly feared. Nor does he overlook the fact that this bitterness continued when the struggle was over, filling the Loyalists with panic and despair upon their realizing that peace was to be made, and with a feeling of betrayal by the home government when the peace terms were published.

The procedure and eminent qualifications of the commissioners on Loyalist claims are next considered, the editor defending the Commission against the charge of "culpable dilatoriness" in conducting their investigations made by the well-known Canadian historian Dr. William Kingsford, and explaining that the great majority of the claimants were "receiving a subsistence allowance" from the British treasury during the protracted period of these investigations. The restrictions under which the commissioners labored and the difficulties they had to contend with are noted, and the claims for losses of property under the acts of 1783 and 1785 and losses of income are tabulated.

The concluding paragraphs of the introduction deal with the character and the differences in social status and occupation of the memorialists, concerning whom Mr. Coke confessed that at the outset he entertained an antipathy, which was transformed into the most favorable sentiments by his discovery in the course of his inquiries of the merit, sufferings, and fidelity to the government of these claimants.

Thirteen states are represented in the Coke Papers. Of the New England group Massachusetts (including Maine) has seventy representatives, among these being Sir William Pepperrell, Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Oliver, Attorney General Jonathan Sewell, Dr. Sylvester Gardiner, and many other prominent refugees. Rhode Island supplies fifteen claimants; Connecticut, eleven; New Hampshire, four, including Capt. John Fenton; and Vermont, one. Of the Middle States New York leads with thirty-nine, of whom the most noted Loyalists are Gen. Oliver DeLancey; Lieut.-Col. John Harris Cruger, a member of the council and chamberlain of the city of New York; George Duncan Ludlow, a member of the supreme court; Rev. Samuel Seabury, D. D., and David Mathews, mayor of New York. Pennsylvania counts among its twenty-seven claimants Joseph Galloway, Lieut.-Col. John Connolly, Rev. Jacob Duché, and Samuel Shoemaker. New Jersey follows with twenty-six, including Brig.-Gen. Cortland Skinner; David Ogden, a member of the council and of the supreme court; Lieut. James Moody, and Daniel Coxe. Of the Southern States Virginia has twenty-three, of whom we mention only Lord Dunmore and Lieut.-Col. Jacob Ellegood. Maryland's list comprises seventeen, and is distinguished by the names of Lieut.-Col. James Chalmers and Dr. Alexander Stenhouse. Among the fifty-three memorialists from North Carolina are Governor Josiah Martin; Col. James Cotton, a holder of numerous offices, and William Pennington, one of the chief revenue officers of the province. South Carolina, with sixty-seven claimants, surpasses any other Southern state in number, but not in distinction. Thus, for example, Georgia, whose list is confined to twenty-eight names, has Governor Sir James Wright, Lieutenant-Governor John Graham, Sir James Wallace, William Knox, and Lewis Johnston, sr., a member of the council, in its roll of claimants.

The memorials of many of these claimants throw rays of light into some of the dark places of our Revolutionary history and supplement what is already known of the activities and sufferings of the American Loyalists. The whole collection is worthy of the care which is manifest in the publication before us, a publication testifying amply to the good judgment and admirable taste of those who have been concerned with it. The editor has been generous in his supply of notes and in furnishing a bibliography of ninety or more titles, which could easily have been extended and classified as primary and secondary works.

WILBUR H. SIEBERT.

*Jared Ingersoll: a Study of American Loyalism in relation to British Colonial Government.* By LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON, Ph.D., Professor of History and Political Science, Wabash College. (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1920. Pp. 432. \$3.75.)

It has been some twenty-five years since Moses Coit Tyler elucidated his views of the significance of the Loyalists of the American Revolution in the first number of this *Review*; and since that time much work has been done to elaborate and define this point of view by such men as Ellis, Gilbert, Flick, and Van Tyne. Yet, if one excepts Hosmer's biography of Hutchinson and Baldwin's monograph on Galloway, little or nothing has been done to supply intimate studies of the leaders among the Loyalists. In the case of Jared Ingersoll this neglect is now atoned for by the excellent volume written by Professor Gipson.

For the ordinary student this work rescues Ingersoll from the ignominy which alone distinguished him—that arising from his activities as stamp-distributor in Connecticut. Ingersoll is shown to have been a native American of conservative temperament, possessed of considerable wealth, a lawyer by profession, and actively interested in the economic development of Connecticut. Perhaps no passages are more illuminating than those describing his activities as promoter of the mast industry in Connecticut and his conflict with the Wentworth interests of Portsmouth. Such influences served to give Ingersoll the temperate outlook of a man of property although the author suggests, somewhat unkindly, that Ingersoll may have also been affected in his political opinions by his familiarity with the books in the Yale library.

The peculiar quality of Ingersoll's Toryism is shown by the fact that he was a consistent believer in colonial home rule, though as a measure of enlightened statecraft rather than as a matter of right. He counselled against the removal of the Sugar Act at the old rates; he worked against the passage of the Stamp Act and secured a reduction of some of the more onerous duties. Then, becoming a belated convert to the measure, he accepted appointment as stamp-distributor, convinced that the tax should be administered by friends to the colonies. When he returned to Connecticut to take up his duties, he discovered that his fellow-colonists had no inclination to follow him in his change of opinion. His conduct in this crisis was dignified and courageous, and not unduly offensive to his fellow-citizens.

The author leaves us somewhat in the dark as to Ingersoll's attitude toward the Townshend programme. Ingersoll appears to have been chiefly engaged at this period in seeking compensation for his Stamp Act sufferings in the form of a colonial appointment, a rôle which reveals him in a less favorable light. His reward came in his appointment as admiralty judge in Philadelphia, in which office he

remained until the outbreak of hostilities. Meantime he continued his Connecticut connections, always using his influence for moderation. During most of the war he was a prisoner on parole in Connecticut. His son Jared joined the revolutionists; and before his death in 1781 the father himself had become reconciled to the idea of American independence.

The author devotes three-fifths of his volume to Ingersoll's career prior to the Townshend acts, an undue proportion in view of the crowding events of the later period. The author, however, has used this space to give an account of the early stages of the Revolutionary movement in Connecticut that is by far the best that we have. With Ingersoll's removal to Philadelphia, Connecticut events sink into the background. Nevertheless the peculiar relationship of New Haven to the Revolutionary movement is always kept clearly before the reader.

The volume maintains the high standards of the *Yale Historical Publications*. Professor Gipson's style is unhurried and attractive; and his scholarship is convincing. The bibliographical essay at the close of the volume shows wide researches, and is to be commended to authors who desire to have their bibliographies actually read. Evidences of carelessness are few; and such slips as "John D. Bassett", "Charles Tompson" (in the index), and Rivington's "New York Gazette" will mislead no one.

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER.

*History of the University of Virginia, 1819-1919.* By PHILIP ALEXANDER BRUCE. In four volumes. Volumes I. and II. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1920. Pp. xiv, 376; 395. \$9.00.)

THIS first installment of Dr. Bruce's exhaustive work is, in substance and style, thoroughly worthy both of the subject and of the reputation of the author as an accomplished historian. The volumes naturally make their main appeal to the alumni of the institution dealt with and to natives of Virginia; but, although the scale on which the undertaking is planned will probably seem unduly formidable to the general reader, that personage, if he be not mythical, will do well in my judgment to give these pages a fair test, and the number of special students who may find their account in them appears to be exceptionally large.

To anyone interested in Jefferson the earlier sections of the book would seem to be well-nigh indispensable, and there is much that should not be overlooked by those concerned with the history of education and with American architecture. Light is thrown also on the political and social life of Virginia in the first decades of the last century, and there are some well-drawn portraits of interesting characters, especially of coadjutors of Jefferson in the last great achievement of his life, whose names the close student of our culture should not willingly

let die. Last, but to me personally by no means least, Dr. Bruce, by drawing liberally upon the papers in the proctor's office, has been able to give a detailed and highly informative account of the construction, under many difficulties, of one of the most significant groups of buildings ever erected in this country—an account which investigators of our early economic history may peruse with profit.

The period of slightly more than a century covered by the work is treated in nine chronological divisions, four of which are represented in these two volumes. After an introductory chapter devoted to Jefferson, the opening periods describe the struggle for a university, and the germination of the institution in the Albemarle Academy and in Central College. The third period, in twenty-three sections—an indication of the magnitude of the work—treats of the building of the university, and includes a readable sketch of the fight for the new institution conducted in the Virginia legislature by Jefferson's able lieutenant Joseph C. Cabell, whom Washington Irving's recently published *Journals* agreeably mention, as well as an account of the mission of the ill-fated Francis Walker Gilmer to England for the purpose of securing professors, a pilgrimage not viewed with favor by the super-patriots of those ebullient days. The fourth period describes the "formative and experimental stage, 1825-1842", and discusses such topics as "how the university was reached", "origin and number of students", the several schools of instruction, the successors to the first professors, the formation of the library, the hotel-keepers—an interesting but parlous set, one gathers—the discipline, or rather the lack of discipline, and the like.

The topic last named has furnished one elderly alumnus with matter for reflection. Some of the pranks and follies of those students of the thirties were not untried by the students of the early eighties, but there had been a distinct toning down, just as there has doubtless been in the forty years that have succeeded. Certainly no professor has been killed by a student since November, 1840, when the second professor of law, John A. G. Davis, was shot on attempting to remove a mask worn by a rioting young man. This tragedy, with the sinister light it throws on the turbulence of the period, suggests the fact that the academic career of the university's most distinguished alumnus, Edgar Allan Poe, although it was not thus stained and officially passed muster, was none the less clouded and illustrative of the dissipations of the time. Poe, however, finds no place in these volumes. He is reserved for the fifth period, and doubtless Dr. Bruce in his treatment of this phase of the poet's life will place students under obligations.

Of the interesting men who, after Jefferson and Cabell, figure in the opening years of the university, no one stands out more saliently than Gen. John Hartwell Cocke, to whom a section of the first volume



is assigned. In his support of the cause of education, in his conciliatory attitude toward the North, in his advocacy of universal prohibition, in his discouragement of the planting of tobacco, in his condemnation of duelling, in his efforts for the peaceable abolition of slavery, he was surely, in the words of one historian, "in power of foresight . . . the most remarkable of all his Virginia contemporaries of his own generation".

In conclusion, it is a pleasure to praise, not only the thorough and the attractive manner in which Dr. Bruce has treated his subject, but also the discrimination he continually displays. His attitude toward the great founder and father of the institution whose fortunes he is tracing is throughout highly appreciative and respectful, but it is never marred by subservience or by uncritical extravagance of laudation. In the matter, for example, of Jefferson's stand in relation to the proposed removal of William and Mary College to Richmond, Dr. Bruce's own unpartizan bearing demands nothing but praise. He is ready also to point out firmly the meretriciousness of Jefferson's taste in English literature (I. 30), going farther than I myself should be willing to do, if he means to cite as illustrative the old statesman and philosopher's preference for Homer over Milton. The proof-reading has been good, but, as is to be expected in a work of such scope, not impeccable. For example, Nimes (I. 36) has loaned "salons" (I. 57) its circumflex; the poet Praed appears as "William Mackworth" instead of Winthrop Mackworth (I. 362); we read of *De Arta Poetica* (II. 86); and at more than one place we encounter the strange noun "doctrinate".

W. P. TRENT.

*The Papers of Thomas Ruffin.* Collected and edited by J. G. DE ROULHAC HAMILTON, Alumni Professor of History in the University of North Carolina. Volume III. [Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission.] (Raleigh: the Commission. 1920. Pp. 464.)

THE third volume of *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, like the preceding volumes, contains very few letters of the North Carolina chief justice himself; but the letters of other leaders of importance tend to give the work great value to students of American history. The period covered by these letters is 1859-1865. The men whose names appear most frequently in the book are Weldon Edwards, Paul Cameron, David L. Swain, Kenneth Rayner, and others then well known in all that region of the country.

A significant note may be seen in the following quotation from a letter of the ex-Governor, Charles Manly, a Whig of the best traditions:

I want to knock down a John Browner so bad I *donno* what to do. I don't think the country will *bust up* yet. The people will save it in spite of the politicians, demagogues and fanatics. It can't be possible that the advocates of treason, murder and stealing can overturn and destroy this great Confederacy (p. 59).

An even more suggestive line of thought may be seen in the following (December, 1861) from Kenneth Rayner, one of the important national Democratic leaders during the Clay and Polk days:

I tried to sound public opinion as it exists among plain country people. I was mortified to find, as far as I could ascertain, that the feeling in that section . . . was in a great measure in favor of "the Union at all hazards"—in other words, unqualified submission. I heard from several sources that the people who did not own slaves were swearing that they "would not lift a finger to protect rich men's negroes". You may depend on it, my dear Judge, that this feeling prevails to an extent you do not imagine (p. 109).

One of the wisest bits of advice in the volume is to be found in a letter (February 4, 1861) from Thomas P. Devereaux, a Federalist of the old school, a great planter, and chairman of the county court of Halifax:

It seems to me now that the difference between the right of secession and of revolutionary resistance is merely nominal, revolution is implied in secession and in the reverse. . . . A spirit is abroad which I fear will sooner or later destroy our Union and that spirit is mainly evidenced by [the] declaration that obedience to the Federal powers, allegiance to the Union, is subordinate to that due the individual states (pp. 118-119).

Ruffin was a respected and thoughtful moderate Unionist who served his state in the Peace Conference, not one who believed too strongly in democracy or the wisdom of common men, and to him, apparently, the best men of North Carolina wrote their hopes and their fears. All finally went into the revolution of which Devereaux spoke, and all of them lost about all the property they had accumulated through the toil of half a century. But the old judge bore his disasters as became a philosopher. Devereaux lost a great plantation and his little army of slaves. Manly, the hot-tempered Whig, likewise lost his all; and poor Rayner, who hated Yankees as Frenchmen hate Germans, emigrated to start afresh in Alabama, and thence found his way to Washington to take a subordinate place under President Grant! But it is never given to contemporaries to know what will be the consequences of given lines of action, and the historian dares not condemn in others what he, as a citizen, probably would have approved.

Messrs. Hamilton and Connor have done a good thing in bringing out these instructive evidences of the thought of a sorely tried commonwealth in 1861.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

*The Cambridge History of American Literature.* Edited by WILLIAM P. TRENT, JOHN ERSKINE, STUART P. SHERMAN, and CARL VAN DOREN. Volumes III. and IV. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons; Cambridge, England: University Press. 1921. Pp. x, 424; vi, 425-872. \$5.00 each.)

THESE volumes cover mainly the last half-century of American literature. Less than half of the chapters deal with literature in the narrower sense of the word—Mark Twain, minor humorists, later poets, essayists, and novelists, the drama, patriotic songs and hymns, ballads, and writings in German, French, Yiddish, and Indian; the other chapters are upon travels, history, theology, philosophy, magazines and newspapers, political writings, Lincoln, education, economics, scholarship, popular bibles, book publishing, and the English language in America. This second group not only increases the value of the work as a record of American culture, but also contains some of the most interesting material. The first group, on the other hand, has historical as well as literary significance, presenting the literature in its relations to the life of the times.

The chapter on Mark Twain portrays him justly as a writer of original and versatile gifts, who pictured with much power certain phases of American life and temperament; but it sensibly resists a present tendency to put him among the world's "literary Titans" in native endowment. The critic deals too gently, perhaps, with Twain's crass blindness to some of the finest things in the culture of the past, and makes too little of the agnostic pessimism which found imaginative expression in his posthumous story, *The Mysterious Stranger*. Howells is truly said to have "produced in his fourscore books the most considerable transcript of American life yet made by one man", although his typically American realism is well described as "a kind of selective realism", the novelist "choosing his material as a sage chooses his words, decently"; due emphasis is also laid upon his preference for the commonplaces of life, and the writer hints that in spite of Howells's neat style and true pictures of contemporary conditions his work may fail of full permanence because it has neither supreme fineness nor supreme power. The treatment of Henry James, although marred by sudden drops in style, as a whole is well poised and penetrating; it admits the faults of his later manner, but insists upon the truth and subtlety of his insight, and, while granting his debt to Europe, picks out as a distinctive quality that he not only portrays American types but unites "new-world faith and old-world culture". The pages given to minor authors and movements also combine study of literary art with study of historical and social setting. Thus the treatment of the drama since 1860 dwells upon the rise of plays American in subject and spirit, and upon the struggle between commercialism and art for control of the theatre, ending with a hopeful view of

the effect of recent amateur play-writing and acting upon the future of American drama. The chapter on Oral Literature gives a broad view, but with some detail, of the fortunes of English and Scottish ballads in the United States, and sketches briefly the making of new ballads by cowboys and others. The last chapter, on Indian oratory and poems, embodies the results of modern research, and shows fine artistic feeling in tracing the mode by which primitive poetry develops.

Among the chapters on subjects not purely literary, that on American English is one of the best; temperate and judicial in tone, yet giving occasional keen thrusts, the writer argues for recognition of the American form of English as one of several varieties due to sociological conditions, like Scottish English and South-England English, while urging reasonable restraint of extremes in pronunciation and idiom in North, South, and West. The development of magazines and newspapers is admirably told in two chapters which fearlessly point out the growth of debasing elements but duly appraise the relation of these publications to modern life and literature. The chapter on Lincoln, like that on Webster in volume II., is chiefly a study of style; and although it is a far more vital study, relating Lincoln's style, early, middle, and late, to the unfolding of his personality, one must regret that somewhere in the volume there is not an adequate presentation of Lincoln's political thought as expressed in his writings. The treatment of historians, theologians, philosophers, economists, and political writers, although necessarily brief, is fair in its exposition of the characteristics of various schools. The chapter on Scholars gives vivid glimpses into the personalities of Ticknor, Whitney, Gildersleeve, Child, White, and other students of ancient and modern languages and literatures, in addition to succinct but definite accounts of their work. The bibliographies are very full and valuable, as in the previous volumes, filling nearly 200 pages; and the name-and-title index to the two volumes (which are really one, divided for convenience in handling) occupies forty-four pages.

In spite of defects of method and execution in these volumes and their predecessors, it would be ungenerous, upon a survey of the now completed task, not to express agreement with the modest belief uttered by the editors in their last preface, "that the work as a whole furnishes a new and important basis for the understanding of American life and culture".

WALTER C. BRONSON.

*A History of the Transport Service: Adventures and Experiences of United States Transports and Cruisers in the World War.* By Vice-Admiral ALBERT GLEAVES, U. S. N., Commander of Convoy Operations in the Atlantic, 1917-1919. (New York: George H. Doran Company. 1921. Pp. xviii, 284. \$6.00.)

EVERYTHING in this excellent and stirring account of the manner in

which our navy carried over the Atlantic two million American soldiers is so matter-of-fact, so humanly modern in spirit, that one is apt to lose sight of the heroic in the mighty operation. But what a theme for a future epic poet! For from the wanderings of the fabled Argo and the warlike expeditions of the classic nations of the Mediterranean to the bold overseas forays of the Northmen and the Danes the theme has ever been dear to the epic muse. But all these ancient movements of troops, wonderful as they were for their times and circumstances, and also the more modern oversea expeditions, sink into insignificance when compared with the titanic accomplishments of the Americans and British described by Admiral Gleaves.

The greatest feat of the kind before the World War was the transportation to South Africa, during the last Boer War, of some 432,000 British soldiers and 353,000 horses, but this of course was simply a problem of logistics, unhampered by any opposition of the enemy.

The operation under Gleaves will undoubtedly remain one of the astounding features of the war, and was the more remarkable because it was carried out with uncanny smoothness and precision, but no publicity. The admiral himself describes his mission as "the task of breaking the U-boat blockade in the Atlantic", and how well this mission was accomplished is best appreciated by a comparison of its complete success with the uniform confidence of the German military authorities in the ability of the submarines to prevent it. General Ludendorff hoped in 1918 for the success of his next offensive "if the submarines had by that time been able to reduce enemy tonnage at least to such an extent as to render the quick transport of the new American armies impossible, or even to sink only a certain proportion of the transports. The Navy counted upon being able to do this." And again: "From our previous experience of the submarine war I expected strong forces of Americans to come. But the rapidity with which they actually did arrive proved surprising." As a matter of fact no American transport was sunk while proceeding eastward. Little wonder, in view of this feat of carrying two millions of men across the ocean with practically no loss of life, that the French Minister of Marine, as he hung about Admiral Gleaves's neck the cross of a commander of the Legion of Honor (the first American officer, by the way, to be thus publicly honored since Paul Jones), remarked, "I constantly point to the American Navy as an example to be followed by the French Navy. When the war came you did not find it necessary to change a single one of your admirals afloat." Or that the French Minister of War said to him, "You have accomplished more than if you had won a great victory."

Admiral Gleaves's volume solves well the difficult problem of writing popular history; for it is frankly a book for the man in the street, whose interest will be held to the end and who cannot fail to acquire an accurate knowledge, not only of how the great American host was carried over-

seas with almost no loss of life and brought back again within an astonishingly short period of time, but also of the whole important convoy system, of the complicated naval situation in 1917-1918, and of the uniformly excellent and often heroic conduct of the officers and men under his supreme command. The book is profusely illustrated, and contains a valuable appendix giving all necessary data concerning the cruiser and transport force.

EDWARD BRECK.

*The Life and Times of Sir Alexander Tilloch Galt.* By OSCAR DOUGLAS SKELTON. (Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1920. Pp. 586. \$6.50.)

THIS volume is a very important contribution to Canadian political biography, although the purely biographic element occupies a somewhat secondary place. The title indeed promises both "Life and Times", but the "Times" quite absorb the "Life", so that apart from glimpses of Galt's personal characteristics in the few semi-domestic letters reproduced, the volume reveals him chiefly as engaged in the political and financial affairs of the country.

The book opens with a sketch of his father, John Galt, known to the world at large as a literary character, but to Canadian history as the founder and early manager of the Canada Land Company. After breaking with the Canada Company, whose activities were confined to Upper Canada, the elder Galt turned his attention to the formation of a new Canada Land Company with Lower Canada as its field of operations. It was as a junior officer of the new British American Land Company that the son, A. T. Galt, came to Canada in 1835. Although the affairs of this corporation, in which he rose to be chief commissioner, absorbed his activities for twenty years, and although its fortunes were greatly affected by the most fundamental of all Canadian political and economic struggles, that between the French and English races, yet only the vaguest references are made to these important factors in this biography of Galt. The French Canadians resented very much the influx of immigrants, and especially of British immigrants, foreseeing that this might lead to the overthrow of their supremacy in what they regarded as their own country. Naturally, therefore, their attitude toward the new Land Company was one of steady hostility, which, but for the activities of Galt, would doubtless have resulted in starving out the company. But if our author has prudently refrained from following the subject of his biography into regions still beset by many explosives, he at least makes ample amends by treating very fully, and from first-hand sources, the less inflammable interests in which Galt spent his mature years. Thus we have two admirable chapters, the third and fourth, in which the early railroad history of Canada and the Maritime Provinces is very clearly presented, although only parts of it have a direct connection with

Galt. It is, indeed, characteristic of the general plan of the volume that Galt's connection with an important subject determines the fact of its treatment, but not the range of the treatment. Once a subject is entered upon it is treated in a full and independent manner, while the sections in which Galt figures are simply dealt with somewhat more fully, and his special connection with them clearly brought out.

The same method is followed in the larger field of politics, from the Union of the Canadas in 1840 down to the putting of the Confederation on its feet. The political history of this period is dealt with quite independently of the circumstance that Galt was sometimes an important factor and at others only an interested spectator. When he is an active participant the part he played is quite fully brought out, but when he is not, the play still goes on with more general but no less faithful attention to the development of the plot and the parts played by the other actors. Thus when Galt reappears on the stage no explanation is necessary as to what has happened in the interval, or how his part is related to the whole drama. This political presentation occupies the body of the book, including chapters five to fourteen. Here we find Galt much more interested in the achievement of concrete results than in the more or less strenuous political process through which they were achieved or defeated. Some of his colleagues, notably the resourceful John A. Macdonald, were much more interested in the game for its own sake.

Apart from his important services in the government as Minister of Finance, Galt made two important contributions to Canadian national development. The first and most important was his comprehensive draft of the general plan and essential conditions for the Confederation of the British North American Provinces. So thoroughly had he grasped the essential elements of such a measure, that, although rejected more than once, it ultimately prevailed, and, with very slight alteration in essentials, became the framework of the British North America Act. The other was his successful presentation and defense of the indispensable constitutional independence of Canada in fiscal and trade matters in relation not only to foreign countries but to Great Britain itself. His general attitude toward political and financial problems exhibited that rare combination of the practical statesman meeting the indispensable requirements of the present, and the man of vision providing for the expanding requirements of an indefinite future. All these features are very naturally and skilfully developed in the work before us.

Galt's thorough acquaintance with Canadian affairs, and the wider possibilities of the country after Confederation, naturally marked him as the most suitable representative of the new Dominion as High Commissioner, at the seat of empire in London. He was already well known to many of the leading financial and political personalities of Britain, while his knowledge of conditions in the United States, and his services as representative of Canada on the Halifax Fisheries Commission, naturally contributed materially to his success in this new position. He was able



both to guard and promote Canada's expanding interests, particularly in foreign trade and the negotiations incidental thereto.

The volume closes with a chapter on Galt's share, through his interest in his family, in opening up the Canadian Northwest, especially in the development of the coal mines at Lethbridge. This brought him back to his earlier railroad interests and financial operations, and the practical results showed that he had not lost his skill in such matters.

As already indicated, apart from the interest in Galt as one of the outstanding personalities in the history of Canada, the method of treatment adopted renders the volume an exceptionally valuable contribution to general Canadian history.

ADAM SHORTT.

*Mexico and the Caribbean.* Clark University Addresses. Edited by GEORGE H. BLAKESLEE, Professor of History and International Relations, Clark University. (New York: G. E. Stechert and Company. 1920. Pp. x, 363. \$4.00.)

MEXICO and the Caribbean countries have at various times reacted heavily upon our history. Historians have been slow to appraise the true force of these reactions. Clark University has rendered a service through having brought together a number of men who are interested in the problems of the Latin American world. These men have discussed various questions about which there are controversies, and nothing could more clearly indicate the diversity of opinion existing than these very addresses themselves.

They vary greatly in quality. As a matter of fact one can but express surprise at the inclusion of some of them, as for instance, "A Constructive Policy for Mexico" by Roger W. Babson. It should be characterized as the merest twaddle. By way of contrast it is a pleasure to refer to "The Caribbean Policy of the United States" by Professor William R. Shepherd, who has dealt exhaustively with the facts.

T. Esquivel Obregón has presented an interesting argument in support of the proposition that the Mexican people are capable of governing themselves, and yet his argument is specious in that it is universally admitted that the Mexican people, as such, have never exercised a voice in their governmental affairs. The only governments which have survived in Mexico have been despotisms or benevolent autocracies such as Diaz set up during his reign. In this connection Professor Frederick Starr in his discussion of the Mexican People falls into a fundamental blunder when he criticizes Diaz (p. 27) for having failed in his long rule to develop "those Indians—those fellows in the mountains, talking their languages, living in their little villages—into citizens of the Republic". As though under any circumstances Indians of the type he refers to could be developed into citizens of an enlightened republic in one generation! It will take a hundred, or a thousand, perhaps.

The question of health as affecting Mexican character is discussed by Ellsworth Huntington, but health can be said only in a minor sense to have modified the political aspects of the Mexican problem. Some fairly startling statistics are set out, showing alarming mortality ratios as compared with the United States.

A vivid review of the Mexican oil situation as affecting the Mexican case is presented by Frederick R. Kellogg. There can be no controverting the position he takes that Carranza's constitution of 1917 completely overthrew the bases on which foreign investments were called into Mexico.

It is astonishing to read in "Reconstruction Problems in Mexico", by E. D. Trowbridge (p. 115), "With the exception of the railway investment the large units of capital in Mexico suffered comparatively little damage during the revolution." Such a statement could have emanated only from uninformed sources. Many of the important mining properties have been partially or totally destroyed; utility, industrial, and railroad companies have suffered desperate impairments; banking institutions have been almost wholly destroyed; and agricultural enterprises have been completely prostrated. Only the oil interests, which during the revolution were practically under the domination of the United States and allied forces, escaped unscathed and even they were prevented from developing their properties.

The general article on "Common Sense in Foreign Policy", by Professor Edwin M. Borchard, carries a deal of common-sense, indeed, and raises some questions which are not likely to be settled in this chaotic age, such as, for example, the matter of the confiscation of private enemy property and investments (p. 178).

Referring to the Caribbean Policy of the United States, Professor Shepherd (p. 192) states the case when he says: "Whatever the characteristics of thought and deed, there has been nothing deliberate and systematic about our course of action in the Caribbean." It is only another admission of the blundering way in which states move through their courses. Shepherd's fearless discussion of the facts touching the whole of the experience of the United States in the Caribbean is much to be applauded, although occasionally a little shadow of splenetic quality will steal across his pages.

The partizan views of Judge Otto Schoenrich in his "The Present American Intervention in Santo Domingo and Haiti" are not the views of an interested observer only. He criticizes freely the policy of the United States, affirming that "a review of developments in Santo Domingo and Haiti in the last five years is not gratifying to our national pride" (p. 222). Another inane and careless article is contributed by Samuel Guy Inman, "The Present Situation in the Caribbean". When such writers set themselves up for wiseacres, we can have small surprise that there should remain for us vast ignorance of the real conditions existing in the Caribbean.

Another partizan criticism of the policy of the United States in the Caribbean is contributed by Jacinto López—he scores bitterly the general course the United States has taken in Santo Domingo and in the other countries of the Caribbean and Gulf. The question of Porto Rico as a National Problem is discussed with candor by Pedro Capó Rodríguez. There is, of course, a problem in the matter of colonial establishments; but colonies have brought problems since first the Greeks and Carthaginians planted theirs, and the time will not come when problems, political and social, shall not exist.

WALTER F. MCCALLEN.

#### MINOR NOTICES

*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fourth series, volume III. (London, the Society, 1920, pp. 229.) Sir Charles Oman's presidential address, with which this volume begins, is entitled "East and West", and treats of the campaigns of the Crusaders in Palestine, and of the parallels and contrasts between these and the campaign of the Allies in 1916-1918. The series of communications relating to the national archives of the British Empire and some of the allied states, presented in the preceding volume of the *Transactions*, is now continued with a further installment of statements respecting the history, during the war, of the archives of France and Belgium, the system followed by Canada and Australia in respect to war records, and the present condition of the archives of the Union of South Africa—all these obtained from official writers. Five essays constitute the remainder of the volume. In the first, the Rev. Dr. George Edmundson describes from new sources, chiefly Spanish and Portuguese, the Voyage of Pedro Teixeira on the Amazon from Pará to Quito and back in 1637-1639. Miss Mildred Wretts-Smith gives an account from printed sources, the State Papers, Domestic, and other manuscripts, of the life and doings of the English in Russia during the second half of the sixteenth century. Miss M. Dormer Harris sets forth the contents of two volumes of correspondence from royal and private persons belonging to the city of Coventry, and the diary of one who was mayor in 1655, illustrating town life in various periods. Dr. William Rees contributes a thoroughgoing study of the Black Death in Wales; Mr. J. E. Neale, the Alexander Prize Essay for 1919, on the character of the Commons' Journals of the Tudor period.

*Freedom of Speech*. By Zechariah Chafee, jr., Professor of Law, Harvard University. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, and Howe, 1920, pp. vii, 431, \$3.00.) The law and the gospel of liberty in the expression of opinion are both set forth in this book with an amplitude that leaves nothing to be desired. In his doctrine Professor Chafee is of the lineage of Milton and John Stuart Mill, of John Morley and Justice

Holmes. His searching legal analysis covers every important juristic utterance from Blackstone's misrepresentation of the English common-law doctrine to the latest decision of the American courts, and every violation from the unlawful raid on Wilkes's newspaper office in 1763 to the expulsion of the New York socialist members in 1920. Being himself an adherent "to traditional political and economic views", a convinced supporter of the government in the war, and "thoroughly" detesting "the attitude of Berger", the author writes without passion though with a genuine warmth in his devotion to the American principle of liberty of utterance. His historical outline dissipates the common notion that there is a clear tradition of freedom of speech flowing down undefiled from the springs of English history. He shows, on the contrary, that the right has been a growth out of alien soil, contested at every stage and hampered by a common law of sedition which was with difficulty uprooted from our American law and finally "repealed" by the First Amendment to the Constitution. The grievance of his tolerant spirit is that this repeal has been whittled away by loose construction under the influence of passion—the intolerance of the war-spirit and the new-born fear of revolution.

Briefly summarized, the argument is that it is not the possible nor even the probable tendency of an expression of opinion, nor yet its harmful purpose, that renders it obnoxious to the principle embodied in the First Amendment, but only its immediate and dangerous effect; that recent decisions have made the innocent and harmless expression of seditious opinion a crime; that this dangerous doctrine has even been extended in certain cases to opinion that has found no overt expression in word or deed; and that these decisions have left to the First Amendment no function but the protection of such expressions of opinion as are not abhorrent to those who make and enforce the laws.

All of these contentions may stand unchallenged except the first. Here, in defining the exact limits to which a not unlimited liberty of speech may be pushed, concededly "a difference of degree", there is room for difference of opinion. Even Justice Holmes, who never put his great powers to better use than in these days of doubt and confusion, held in the *Debs* case that the "clear and present danger" of an utterance might be inferred from its "natural tendency and reasonably probable effect".

Here then we must leave "the American doctrine" of freedom of speech, sorely wounded in the house of its friends but still with sufficient vitality to regain its ancient vigor in a better time when the humane spirit of tolerance and a more vital faith in popular government shall come to prevail. It is not too much to say that this spirited work of Professor Chafee, with its fine faith in the saving power of free discussion to make the truth prevail, will prove a notable contribution to that much-to-be-desired consummation.

G. W. K.

*The Early History of the Monastery of Cluny.* By L. M. Smith, Somerville College, Oxford. (London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1920, pp. x, 225, \$7.20, 6s.) The early history of Cluny is in large measure the story of its abbots, and it is to the first five abbots that the greater part of this volume is devoted, from the rather shadowy figure of Berno who won from William of Aquitaine a somewhat reluctant consent to convert a hunting-lodge into a monastery—"Drive out the dogs and put monks in their place, for thou canst well think what reward God will give thee for dogs and what for monks"—to Odilo under whom Cluny may be said to have reached her culmination.

The historical importance of the monastery more than justifies an account of its early years. But one wishes that the story, embodying as this does the results of a detailed study of the *Recueil des Chartes de Cluny*, were better told. The indiscriminating recital of miracles is wearisome; the pious motives that actuated donors—motives that are commonplace enough in chartularies—are too often quoted. One wonders at times whether Miss Smith wrote for scholars or for readers who might be amused by medievalisms.

The avowed purpose of the book is to combat two theories: that the Cluniacs were highly ascetic and uncompromising Benedictines, and that the Gregorian tenets originated at Cluny and were promulgated by the Cluniacs. The present writer was unaware that these theories were now generally accepted. He feels, too, that the author underestimates the influence of Cluny outside its dependencies. The Cluniac revival was a healing of the whole body, and its indirect results were perchance other and greater than can be immediately attributed to the abbots of Cluny.

The author seems to accept the exploded myth of the year 1000. A passage on page 155 implies that the grant of papal protection was equivalent to exemption. Familiar allusions appear in unfamiliar guise, as, for instance, on page 163, the phrase "a mercenary rather than the shepherd", where one would expect "an hireling".

The bibliography is in fact merely a list of books cited; place and date of publication are in no case given. In the index of over 350 entries just twenty are other than names of persons or places; and, opening the book at random, the writer found in three consecutive pages four place-names and one personal name which are not in the index. It is an added misfortune that the author occasionally disregards the customary rules of English syntax.

ALFRED H. SWEET.

*Norges Bønder: Utsyn over den Norske Bondestands Historie.* Av Oscar Albert Johnsen. (Kristiania, H. Aschehoug and Company, 1919, pp. xiii, 463.) In a convenient and attractive volume Professor Oscar Albert Johnsen here presents a history of Norwegian agriculture and of the agricultural classes from the earliest times to the present. The sagas, the old Norse laws, and the excavations of recent years, par-

ticularly the rich Oseberg find, have furnished abundant material for this study.

Norwegian farmers of the early Middle Ages used manure as fertilizer, rotated their crops, and possessed farm implements that compared favorably with those in use a generation ago. The author is however especially interested in the political, social, and economic position of the peasant through changing epochs. We find described the peasant's daily life, "his dwelling, food, and dress, his craft and art, his social life and his pleasures."

The typical Norwegian peasant is a freeholder. His right to the land has always been carefully guarded. In the oldest collection of laws, those of Gulathing, it is provided that a farm must have been in the possession of the family for five generations and passed into the hands of the sixth before undisputed title, the *odel*, can be secured. Traces of this remain in the present laws regarding landholding. At the close of the viking period probably one-half of the peasants were freeholders. In 1816 two-thirds of the farmers were proprietors. Serfdom never gained a foothold. It was foreign to the law and social customs of Norway. Tenants' rights have always been recognized and protected.

Through the *things* the freeholders exercised great political influence during the Middle Ages. This was largely lost when church and monarchy grew strong and the national militia was discontinued. Remarkable advances had also been made in social and economic co-operation. Peasant guilds of the eleventh and twelfth centuries served as mutual fire-insurance societies. When slavery disappeared the farmers could not compete with the foreign grain-growers. Weakened by the political and economic decline of the free peasantry, the nation failed to withstand the disastrous effects of the Hanseatic commercial monopoly, the Black Death, and the union, first with Sweden and then with Denmark. In vain did the last Catholic primate, Archbishop Olav Engelbrektsson, attempt to save both church and national autonomy.

Self-government was lost, but the free peasants kept alive the national spirit. If the foreign officials became too rapacious they were clubbed to death. Resisting the special tax of 1762 a peasant, Trond Lauperak in Bjerkreim, said, "Frederik is king in Denmark, but I am king in Bjerkreim" (p. 303). The freeholders continued to have a voice in the government. At the meeting of the estates in 1661 there were 408 peasants, 36 burghers, 14 noblemen, and 85 representatives of the clergy.

Peasant leaders took a prominent part in the national awakening of the eighteenth century. Their influence in the Storting, particularly after 1830, contributed powerfully to the triumph of political democracy.

The author looks upon the landholding class as the backbone of the nation. He urges this class to assume the leadership in resisting the disintegrating tendencies of modern radicalism and guide the future development along safe progressive lines. He has a strong bias in favor of his subject, but this has not dulled his critical faculty. The book is

original, scholarly, and contains a wealth of information. Excellent illustrations, thirty pages of notes, and a good index enhance its value. It should also be mentioned that the author, unlike so many Norwegian writers of to-day, does not experiment in orthography and in the use of words.

PAUL KNAFLUND.

*Saint Grégoire VII.* Par Augustin Fliche. ["Les Saints".] (Paris, Victor Lecoffre, 1920, pp. x, 191, 3.50 fr.) Some fifty volumes have already appeared in this series of popular lives of the saints, some dealing with little known figures like St. Radegonde, the Blessed Postel, or St. Colette, while others treat of the leading characters of church history such as St. Athanasius, St. Patrick, St. Columban, or St. Thomas Becket. The saints of the latter category have been assigned to very able scholars, among whom none is better qualified to prepare a popular but scholarly study of Gregory VII. than M. Fliche, who has already made important contributions to the literature dealing with the church reform of the eleventh century. The plan of the series precludes the citation of copious authorities but every page indicates the author's intimate acquaintance with the sources of the period. No novel views are expressed as to Gregory's work and significance, nor are the problems connected with his earlier career discussed. The author assumes the view expressed in an earlier work, that Gregory exercised little influence on papal policy prior to the pontificate of Alexander II. and that his real significance begins only with his elevation to the papacy. His first pre-occupation was the suppression of simony and marriage among the clergy and the reunion of the Eastern and Western churches. On the early failure of the latter plan he devotes himself to the work of reform and is convinced that success can be obtained only by the weakening of the authority of primates and metropolitans, the lessening of episcopal independence, and the concentration of ecclesiastical control in the hands of the pope. This leads to the attack on lay investiture and the struggle with Henry IV., in the course of which Gregory is led to the formulation of his views as to the superiority of the Church to the State. An excellent chapter is devoted to the theory of the theocratic government of the world as found in Gregory's writings. The book is distinctly a historical biography and not a mere work of edification, and Gregory's shortcomings as a diplomatist and political strategist are clearly indicated. M. Fliche has, however, failed to do full justice to the imperial side of the case in the investiture controversy, and his final judgment as to the influence of the papal reforms on the moral life of the Church in the following centuries seems exaggerated.

A. C. H.

*Materials for the History of the Franciscan Province of Ireland, A. D. 1230-1450.* Collected and edited by the late Rev. Father E. B.



Fitzmaurice, O. F. M., and A. G. Little. [British Society of Franciscan Studies, vol. IX.] (Manchester, University Press, 1920, pp. xxxviii, 235, 10s. 6d.) At the request of the British Society of Franciscan Studies the late Father Fitzmaurice of Drogheda undertook to prepare a volume of extracts on the history of the Irish Franciscan province during the Middle Ages. The work was to be in annalistic form and to be based, so far as possible, on original sources. Father Fitzmaurice had brought the work down to the year 1447, when in 1913 death ended his labors. The materials he left behind have been revised and edited by Mr. A. G. Little, who is responsible for the final form in which they now appear.

As regards the disputed date of the coming of the Franciscans to Ireland, the traditions so long current to the effect that the Order was founded there during the lifetime of St. Francis (who died in 1226) are not confirmed, it would seem, by any extant medieval sources. It now appears to be evident that the earliest convent granted to the Franciscans in Ireland was that of Youghal, the foundation of which dates from 1231, or about that year. The existence before 1250 of other houses at Dublin, Waterford, Drogheda, Cork, Athlone, Kilkenny, Carrickfergus, Downpatrick, Dundalk, and Tristeldermot is proved from contemporary records.

A remarkable feature of these first Franciscan foundations is the great preponderance of seaport towns in which the friars established themselves. Moreover, a glance at the map, which the editor furnishes, of the different Franciscan houses in Ireland founded between 1230 and 1450, goes to show that prior to the latter date most of these houses were in the Anglo-Norman areas, and other indications are not lacking that the Order there was dominated by the Pale influences until the fifteenth century.

Perhaps the chief importance of the volume under review lies in the light it tends to throw on the state of religion in Ireland down to this great turning-point in the history of the Irish Franciscans. And we cannot imagine anyone, after reading these selections, not wishing, with Mr. Little, that some other Franciscan of the Irish Province will edit the materials for the subsequent period of its history—a period during which the Franciscans became so active in Gaelic Ulster and so prominent in the national and literary movements of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Meanwhile, the British Society of Franciscan Studies have rendered a real service to the cause of Irish history and of Franciscan literature in giving us this authoritative volume.

PASCHAL ROBINSON.

*The Burford Records: a Study in Minor Town Government.* By R. H. Gretton, M.A., M.B.E. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1920, pp. xx, 736, 42s.) This is a stately and elegant volume of nearly 750 pages. Upwards of 300 are contributed by the author, already well known from his sprightly and informing *Modern History of the English*

*People.* His narrative is divided into two parts. Part I., consisting of five short chapters—some eighty pages in all—is devoted to a history of the Corporation of Burford, while part II., entitled "Studies in the History of Burford", contains contributions on: the Lordship of the Manor and Town; Officers of the Town, the Gild and Corporation; the Church of St. John the Baptist; the Topography and Population; the Levellers; and the History of Burford Priory. The chapter on the parish church, so the author informs us, was partially written by W. C. Emeris, vicar and rural dean. Part III., comprising more than half the volume, is made up of a calendar of records relating to Burford, including charters, records preserved in the town, and extracts from others in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, Brasenose College, and the Bodleian Library. The usefulness and beauty of the book is greatly enhanced by nearly a score of fine illustrations.

Mr. Gretton describes his work as a study in minor town government. As a matter of fact, Burford never had more than 1500 inhabitants; moreover, the borough corporation was, from the earliest times to its dissolution in 1861, subject to a manorial lord—indeed, for a considerable period it formed an outlying portion of the honor of Gloucester. Consequently, while the corporation for a long time "administered the Borough Court, the markets and the fairs, maintained a gallows and pillory, made by-laws and punished by fine and imprisonment any breaches of the by-laws", it acted in reality only as the agent of the lord of this manor; hence, when one of the lords finally chose to assert himself, the former governing body was reduced merely to an administrator of certain charitable trusts. Among Burford's manorial lords have been men of note in English history, including Odo of Bayeux, Robert of Gloucester, the Despensers, Warwick the "King-Maker", and John Lenthall. Another notable fact about the town is that its original grant of liberties, issued between 1088 and 1107, appears to provide "the earliest dated instance of the establishment of a Gild Merchant", and the author seeks to show that the borough corporation derived its organization from that body, a course of development which the late Charles Gross, our great authority on British gilds and municipal origins, was never inclined to accept. Unfortunately, only a few fragmentary records of the borough court have survived, and most of the sources have to do mainly with the "administration of certain public property mainly for charitable purposes". In general, the author has made the most of his not altogether satisfying materials, and while—except for the struggle with the manorial lord—he has given us little that is strikingly important or even picturesque, he has added another sound and not unuseful contribution to English municipal history.

A. L. C.

*The Livingstons of Callendar and their Principal Cadets: the History of an Old Stirlingshire Family.* By Edwin Brockholst Livingston. (Edinburgh, the Author, 1920, pp. xix, 511.) There are more readers in the genealogical section of some of our large libraries than there are in any other section, but each reader is investigating the history of his own family. You will rarely find him investigating any other family, unless he is being paid to do it. Nevertheless, to some extent American history is the history of families. Pinckneys, Carrolls, Lees, Biddles, Ingersolls, Chiltons, Livingstons are names which arise again and again in our political annals, and the genealogy of such families has a general historical interest. Mr. Edwin Brockholst Livingston's book, therefore, has value to other people than members of the Livingston family. It is a companion work to *The Livingstons of Livingston Manor*, which had a great deal of American history in it.

The family name is of territorial origin—de Levingstoun, derived from the lands of Levings-tun or Levingstoun in West Lothian, now the village of Livingston, Linlithgowshire, Scotland. The correct spelling of the name is Livingston, not Livingstone, the addition of the final *e* changing the correct meaning of the name. It is Saxon, and occurred long before the Norman Conquest, as early as the ninth century. The founder of the house of Callendar, from whom the American family descended, was William, second son of Sir William de Livingston, knight banneret. He received the charter to the lands of Callendar in Stirlingshire from King David II. in 1345. Skipping several generations we come to Sir Alexander de Livingston, lord of Callendar, with whom the boy-king, James II., crowned at Holyrood May 25, 1437, found refuge and who became his sole guardian. The times were troublous—"widows, bairns, and infants seeking redress for their husbands, kindred, and friends that were cruelly slain by wicked, bloody murderers", as the chronicle relates. Some of the Livingstons of this period died in their beds, but many were carried off by violent casualties. By 1561 we come to the Rev. Alexander Livingston, the great-grandfather of Robert Livingston, the founder of the New York lordship and manor of Livingston.

The seventh Lord Livingston of Callendar, Alexander, was created Earl of Linlithgow by James VI. in 1592. He married "a malicious Papist", Helenor Hay, daughter of the Earl of Erroll. She was much harassed by the Kirk and accused among other crimes of having dealings with "the midsummer fairies". In 1715 the Earl of Linlithgow became a fugitive in consequence of his complicity in the plot to put James VIII. on the throne. The Callendar estates were sold and passed out of the Livingstons' hands. The titles Earl of Newburgh, Viscount of Kynnaird, and Lord Livingston of Flacraig, in the peerage of Scotland, are now held by an Italian subject by descent through the female line.

Mr. Brockholst Livingston has spent an enormous amount of re-

search in compiling this book and his facts are buttressed by exhaustive lists of authorities. The illustrations include nine colored plates of arms, a facsimile of the agreement of 1439 between the queen-mother and Alexander Livingston, portraits, and pictures of ancient castles. The paper, printing, and binding are all that could be desired. The book will take a prominent place among American genealogies.

G. H.

*Bibliografia della Storia della Riforma Religiosa in Italia.* Per Piero Chiminelli. (Rome, Casa Editrice Bilychnis, 1921.) Pastor Chiminelli offers us the first work of this kind on the Reformation in Italy, and, allowing for repetitions of works cited twice under different headings, gives us the authors, titles and dates of publication, of some 2500 works in twenty-nine chapters in which he has divided the subject. He begins with the precursors and the primitive Inquisition, and abandons the old thesis that the Reformation has come to an end in Italy by devoting a good third of the book to Italian Protestantism since the *Statuto* established toleration for all creeds. The delimitation of the subject and the names of the chapters show clearly that in the mind of the compiler the phases of the national movement stand out clearly, as distinguished from the general current of the Reform. The work is but modest, as the writer freely confesses in his introduction, but it is well mapped-out, and one feels that the ground has been broken. Omissions of course are the most conspicuous shortcomings, and are sometimes surprising. The chapter on *I Libri Celebri della Riforma Italiana* omits all mention of the *Tragedia del Libero Arbitrio* and of the *Pasquino in Estasi*. One suspects that the list is made up of the books which were to be found in the catalogue of one of the libraries on which the compiler has drawn; it is only a pity that he has apparently not availed himself of the British Museum catalogue, in that case. Naturally his acquaintance is largest with Italian literature, but German books are cited frequently with Italian titles, though they do not exist in Italian translations; thus nos. 634, 633, 775, 1586. For the relations between the Renaissance and the Reformation are cited the text-books of Hollings and of Tanner, while one looks in vain for the work of Hulme, of which the framework was furnished by Professor Burr. The tenth chapter "I Principali Riformisti Italiani nei Secoli XVI. e XVII." might well be begun with works which comprise biographies of several reformers, and so spared the repetition under the successive names; so Gerdesius, Mazzuchelli, Comba, Cantù, Trechsel, Sandius, Young, Herzog, Hare. Under the name of each reformer it would be well to list his works.

Signor Chiminelli is preparing a second book on the Manuscripts and the Codices of the Italian Reformation.

FREDERIC C. CHURCH.

*The Life and Works of Sir Henry Mainwaring.* Edited by G. E. Manwaring. Volume I. [Publications of the Navy Records Society, vol. LIV.] (London, the Society, 1920, pp. xxii, 375.) This volume contains the life of Sir Henry Mainwaring. His works, presumably, are to follow in a second volume not yet published. The biographer has done his work with care. It is possible that he might have garnered a few more facts about his hero if he had exploited the Spanish and Venetian archives, but he has evidently left few stones unturned in England. No doubt the job was worth doing. Sir Henry Mainwaring was one of the most notable of English seamen in the early Stuart period, yet he has barely escaped oblivion. There is not even a note on him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

The fact is that Mainwaring fell upon evil days. Had he been a generation earlier he might have shared the fame of John Hawkins and Francis Drake. A generation later he might have been numbered among the great captains who sailed with Blake. As it was, he was caught in the doldrums of the early Stuarts, when the greatest achievements of the English navy consisted in the peddling of fishing licenses to reluctant Dutchmen. Born the year before the Armada, Mainwaring carried through his young manhood something of the fine, lawless spirit of the men of Devon. When he was barely twenty-five he set forth on a career of piracy which for five years made his name a terrible thing in Mediterranean waters. But he forsook his evil courses before he was thirty, and when he was thirty-one was appointed a gentleman of the bedchamber by that tame pedant, James I. Thereafter his career was as unheroic as it might well be. With luck he might have carved a name for himself in the service of Venice, but luck was against him. He became a useful advisor on naval affairs and wrote some useful books on naval problems. He conducted the young Prince Charles on his memorable visit to Spain. He sailed with the ship-money fleets in their ineffectual demonstrations of the sovereignty of the seas. Disappointed in his suit for the hand of a wealthy widow, he later took a wife in a rather unconventional fashion at the "Toppe of Paules". But it is not easy to construct a naval hero out of such stuff as this, and with the best intentions in the world his biographer fails to accomplish the feat. Nevertheless, the life of a man who was an Oxford graduate, a pirate, a member of the Virginia Company, and a friend of that rare gentleman, Sir Henry Wotton, ought to make more engaging reading than this volume affords.

Possibly, after all, Sir Henry Mainwaring will prove to be more important historically as a writer than as a man of action. It will be easier to judge of that when the volume of his collected works appears. Meanwhile, this painstaking biography is chiefly to be commended to the attention of students by reason of the fresh light which it throws upon the defects of the early Stuart navy.

A sentence in one of Mainwaring's letters will be interesting also to students of literature because of its reference to the time and place of composition of that most delicious of all the Cavalier lyrics. Sir Henry Wotton's poem "To the Queen of Bohemia".

CONYERS READ.

*Captain Bligh's Second Voyage to the South Sea.* By Ida Lee [Mrs. Charles Bruce Marriott], F. R. G. S., Hon. F. R. A. H. S. (London, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1920, pp. xviii, 290, \$5.00.) Captain William Bligh, R. N., was a well-known character in the days when adventure-loving boys read with avidity the story of the mutiny of the *Bounty*. That famous voyage to the South Seas, to secure breadfruit trees for propagation in the West Indies, took place in 1787-1790, and after Bligh and some of his faithful officers and men were cast adrift by the mutineers the skilful mariner guided them for 3618 miles in an open boat to the nearest European settlement, at Coupang in Timor. Bligh's reputation was enhanced by this remarkable exhibition of seamanship, and in 1791 King George directed him to make a second attempt to secure the breadfruit and other desirable tropical plants. The log-books of this voyage, in the *Providence* accompanied by the *Assistant* in command of Lieutenant Portlock, were lost for many years, but recently were recovered. Mrs. Marriott has used them as the basis of the present narrative, which consists largely of extracts from the log, with occasional summaries and editorial notes. A chapter gives an account of the earlier voyage of the *Bounty* and of the fate of the mutineers. In addition, use has been made of the journal of Lieutenant Portlock. Ten maps are included, as well as five reproductions of drawings by Lieutenant Tobin.

Bligh sailed for Tahiti by the way of the Cape of Good Hope and Tasmania. He spent over three months in Matavia Bay gathering the desired plants, and then sailed west through the Tonga Islands, Fiji, where he added much to the hazy knowledge of those islands, then to the New Hebrides, the Banks Group, through Torres Strait, where great difficulties in navigation were experienced, and then on to Coupang. From there the voyage across the Indian and South Atlantic oceans was uneventful. Some of the plants were left at St. Helena, and more at St. Vincent, and a considerable number were safely landed at Jamaica. "Unhappily there was only a small practical result of the voyage as far as the plants were concerned, as we are told that the West Indians disliked the flavour of the breadfruit, and preferred the plantain."

While Bligh's journal contains much material of interest to anyone engaged in tracing the progress of discovery in the South Seas, it will not be considered entertaining reading even in these days of the vogue of that region. As early as 1792 Bligh reported that the Tahitians had been contaminated by European intercourse. "It is difficult to get them

to speak their own language without mixing a jargon of English with it, and they are so altered that I believe in future no Europeans will ever know what their ancient customs of receiving strangers were."

*Études et Leçons sur la Révolution Française.* Par Alphonse Aulard, Professeur à l'Université de Paris. Huitième série. (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1921, pp. 182, 6 fr.) It is nearly eight years since the previous volume of *Études et Leçons* appeared. The war accounts for the delay, and at the same time furnishes the subjects of the new series of lectures. The question of the northeastern frontier of France is the subject of perhaps the most interesting study, which is entitled "Landau et Saarlouis, Villes Françaises". This originally appeared in the *Revue de Paris* while the Peace Conference was in session. It is an argument for the restitution of that part of the Saar Valley which had belonged to France since the time of Louis XIV., which remained French in 1814, and was taken away only in 1815. The same reasoning is applied to the case of Landau. Professor Aulard agrees that there should be a statute of limitations in such matters. He does not propose to redress all the wrongs done to France since the reign of Charles the Bald. The basis of his statute of limitations is found in the principle of the Revolution. Accordingly, he would not go back of the time when French territory ceased to be an agglomeration of semi-feudal entities and became the abode of a people voluntarily associating itself. His second study, on "Hoche et la République Rhénane", gains its interest from the contemporary schemes to set up, west of the Rhine, a republic dependent on France. It is in part a review of Professor Sagnac's *Le Rhin Français*, and of previous discussions of the subject. Two of the other lectures are concerned with the relations of the American and French revolutions, and were suggested by the sympathies of the two countries revived by our entry into the war. In dealing with the influence of Locke the author confuses Virginia and the Carolinas, for he ascribes to Locke the constitution of Virginia. Certain of the similarities between the two revolutions appear superficial. It is hard to believe, without more evidence than is offered here, that American paper money had any influence, other than as a warning, upon the inception of the plan for assignats, for the supporters of the original measure denied that the issue would be attended by the evils characteristic of paper money. A later lecture gives the versions of the scheme of a Société des Nations which were brought forward during the French Revolution.

H. E. B.

*L'Affaire de la Compagnie des Indes: un Procès de Corruption sous la Terreur.* Par Albert Mathiez, Professeur d'Histoire Moderne à l'Université de Dijon. (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1920, pp. 399, 12 fr.) In the second chapter of his *La Conspiration de l'Étranger* (noticed here, XXIV, 724) Professor Mathiez undertook to prove the guilt of Fabre



d'Eglantine in the falsification of the decree of October 8, 1793, by which the East India Company was suppressed and the liquidation of its affairs was ordered. In the present volume he offers the documents in the case, with brief explanatory notes and statements of the inferences which he feels justified in drawing. Two essential documents he has been unable to find. One is the interrogatory of the deputies Delaunay d'Angers, Bazire, and Chabot, accused with Fabre. This, according to an official record, was a document of 133 pages. The report of Amar, the member of the Committee of General Security entrusted with the investigation of the case, has also disappeared. The strangest lack is not due to the mischances from which collections of papers often suffer, but to the curious failure of the authorities to bring the administrators of the East India Company into court or to search their books for evidence of the use of monies or shares in procuring the falsification of the decree. Professor Mathiez explains this by the fact that the political aspects of the trial of Fabre, grouped as he was with the Indulgents, overshadowed the question of financial corruption.

Those familiar with the controversy will recall that the text of the decree was referred for its final form to a committee of which Fabre was a member, in order that an amendment, which he had urged and which was hostile to the interests of the company, might be incorporated. Three weeks later, when the text of the decree appeared in the official *Bulletin*, the amendment had vanished and words had been introduced which seemed to offer the company a loophole of escape. On the manuscript text of the decree, of which Professor Mathiez gives a photograph, Fabre's signature appears with the others. His enemies asserted that the company had offered him an enormous bribe. He said he had signed *de confiance*, and that his colleagues were responsible for the changes. The probabilities are against him, especially in view of his bad reputation, but the gaps in the evidence are such that the case cannot be considered to be closed. Indeed, Professor Mathiez does not contend that his demonstration is complete.

It should be added that the documents are of wider interest than the guilt or innocence of Fabre, and throw much light upon the crooked paths of Revolutionary politics, particularly upon the connection of certain deputies with the stock-gambling of the period.

HENRY E. BOURNE.

*Due dell'Estrema, il Guerrazzi e il Brofferio: Carteggi Inediti, 1850-1866.* Per Ferdinando Martini. (Florence, Felice Le Monnier, 1920, pp. xii, 185, 12 lire.). A volume from the pen of Ferdinando Martini never fails to command the instant attention of students of modern Italy—it is certain to be literature as well as a real contribution to historical studies.

Thirty years have passed since Martini edited the first volume of Guerrazzi's *Lettere* (1827-1853), in the preparation of which a great

quantity of unpublished correspondence was brought together in the editor's hands; one of the most important sections of this correspondence, comprising nearly one hundred letters exchanged between Guerrazzi and Brofferio during the period 1859-1866, constitutes the principal original source of the present volume.

"The history of our political Risorgimento is not waiting to be written, it is waiting to be re-written", declares Martini; he goes on to say that "passions having burned themselves out, and the modicum of lies essential to all revolutions, and benevolently termed legends, having been dissipated, the time has arrived to prepare history." That when the vital documents have been fully published, monuments to certain Risorgimento figures may have to come down, need not preoccupy the historian. In this last declaration the writer has particularly in mind, it is clear, the monument erected to the memory of Angelo Brofferio before the citadel of Turin in 1871, for in the first chapter he produces from his own private archives an unpublished letter of Bianchi Giovini addressed to Brofferio under date of August 19, 1849, which menaced the latter with revelation of treachery to his fellow political prisoners in 1831, a charge brought against him as a delator by Bersani, at whose expense Brofferio was said to have secured his own freedom. The accusation is not new. During Brofferio's lifetime it was often whispered, and an unfortunate Doctor Poeti of Milan was even brought to trial and condemned by the court for slander for having published it. Martini does not put forward the letter here as absolute proof, but as important evidence: he believes that the accusation was exaggerated, but that there was some foundation in truth for it. Certainly the archives of Turin and Rome might as well reveal to-day the relative police and court documents and throw full light upon this badly damaged reputation.

Brofferio was an eloquent, unscrupulous, ambitious demagogue, and Guerrazzi was another quick-witted politician of the same stripe. Their friendship, which dated from 1848, found its strongest bond in their common, obstinate, screeching opposition to the great policy of Cavour—and similarly reckless opposition to those who carried on the work after him. For Guerrazzi, Cavour was "the primary root of all Italy's misfortunes", while Ricasoli was "Judas"; for Brofferio, Cavour was a "quack" whose "infamous methods were indescribable". No irresponsible extremists of to-day can surpass in their attacks upon government the virulence and misjudgment of this pair of blatant agitators. And yet both men were at heart patriots; Brofferio had preceded Balbo, Gioberti, and d'Azeglio in urging upon Charles Albert his mission to free Italy from foreign domination; and the work of Guerrazzi in 1848 and 1849 had been courageous and inspired by sincere love of liberty.

The greatness of the triumph of Cavour's international programme is indeed augmented in the light of this unmeasured parliamentary opposition. And the historian is strengthened in his belief in the future

of democracy and of civilization by documentary evidence that a nation can be created and become strong in the face of such persistent internal political strife.

Martini's historical narrative, into which the letters are set, is confined principally to such description of men and events as seemed necessary to a clear understanding of the correspondence; but it abounds in keen, judicious criticism. Wide historical study and long personal parliamentary experience have united to give high value to his work.

H. NELSON GAY.

*History of the Jews in Russia and Poland, from the Earliest Times until the Present Day.* By S. M. Dubnow, translated from the Russian by I. Friedlaender. Volume III., *From the Accession of Nicholas II. until the Present Day.* With bibliography and index. (Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1920, pp. 411.) The final volume of this work, the earlier installments of which have received appropriate notice in the *American Historical Review* (XXII. 626-627; XXIV. 726-727), covers only seventeen years, the period 1894-1911. Even more than in the first two volumes, the author concentrates his attention almost exclusively upon the persecutions and sufferings of his people, which indeed reached their height in the period here under consideration. It is a pitiful tale of gross and stupid governmental oppression, ecclesiastical bigotry, ever recurring outbursts of mob-violence, and much heroism on the part of the victims. While much has been written upon the subject, the whole story of the martyrdom of the Russian Jews has never before, perhaps, been presented to the English-speaking public in so comprehensive and compendious a form, or with more thorough knowledge of the facts in the case.

Nevertheless, it is hard to escape the feeling that the author has overshot his mark. The exaggeration is only too apparent in such statements as that "the horrors of the Armenian massacres in Turkey . . . faded into insignificance before the wholesale butchery at Kishinev" (where, after all, the number of Jews killed was only forty-five); or that the horrors of the pogroms during the week of October 18-25, 1905, find "no parallel in the entire history of humanity" (3500-4000 persons are thought to have been killed, of whom a great part were not Jews). The picture is too overcharged and lurid, the tone is too frequently strident and shrieking, to make quite the proper effect.

It is also to be regretted that a writer who is pleading for justice to his own race and religion, should not set a better example of fairness and respect for the opinions of others. He seldom refers to the Orthodox or Catholic churches except to denounce them in terms that he would probably find "excruciating" if applied to the Jewish rabbis; he will refer to the national shrine of Catholic Poland only as "this hotbed of dismal Polish clericalism"; and he seems to have no conception that,

grievous as have been the wrongs inflicted upon the Jews, the Jewish problem in Russia and Poland is not simply a case of "a nation of lambs amidst a horde of wolves"; it is a complex question in which there is something to be said on both sides. One would like to see a history of the Russian and Polish Jews in which all points of view were impartially and dispassionately treated; in which one would not be so much surfeited with "unparalleled horrors" and "rivers of blood" and incessant denunciations and vague rhetoric, and in which proper attention would be given to the less-known but not less-important aspects of Jewish life—economic, intellectual, literary, and religious.

The text makes up less than half of the present volume. There follows an extensive bibliography of the whole subject treated in this work—a bibliography whose value for Western readers is considerably diminished by the fact that almost all the works mentioned are in Russian, Polish, Yiddish, or Hebrew, and scarcely any of them reflect any other than the Jewish point of view. The remaining 200 pages are devoted to a very complete index for the three volumes, which is intended to serve as "a synopsis of Jewish history in Russia and Poland".

The translator has done his task well, and for this as for his numerous other contributions to historical studies one must regret the more his tragic death last year, while on a mission to that troubled part of Europe with which this work deals.

R. H. L.

*Italy and the World War.* By Thomas Nelson Page, American Ambassador to Italy from 1913 to 1919. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920, pp. xii, 422, \$5.00.) Mr. Page assumes that his audience is quite ignorant of things Italian, and devotes the first half of this bulky volume to a résumé of Italian political history, and of events leading up to the war. This is evidently in large part a translation, and abounds in Italianisms like "prepotent", "prepotency", "the Piedmont", and "Triplice", and in unidiomatic phrases and sentences; but it is reasonably accurate, and much of the later story will be new and valuable to the general reader. He is especially successful in depicting Italian distrust and hatred of Austria; Germany's economic and financial power in Italy; the sources of Giolitti's strength; and the baleful progress of Austrian diplomacy in the Balkans and in Italy itself. He is at his best in discussing Sonnino's negotiations with Austria and with the Allies, in his tributes to D'Annunzio at Quarto and Rome, to the royal family's participation in the war, and to Cadorna's organizing and strategic genius. In his ambition to relate the Italian war to the struggle elsewhere, he gives too full an account of what happened in France and Flanders; we could well spare several pages of this for, *e.g.*, a summary of the volumes of the parliamentary inquiry into the disaster of Caporetto. He does

ample and at times eloquent justice to the tremendous Italian effort against Austrian superiority in position, artillery, and numbers; especially dramatic is his account of the heroic resistance to Conrad von Hoetzendorff's Asiago drives. Unfortunately it must be admitted that the book disappoints, both in its diffuseness—fully a hundred pages could have been saved by condensing the historical epitome and the story of operations outside of Italy—and in its omissions. The work of the Italian navy and merchant marine should have an entire chapter. The account of American participation in Italy is both inadequate and inaccurate; our only regiment, the 33<sup>rd</sup>, is barely mentioned, and then with a wrong number; and we find not a word about the excellent work of the Y. M. C. A. Furthermore, there are so many mistakes and misprints that one feels distrustful of any statement one cannot check up. For instance: Mr. Page makes the Hohenzollern King Charles of Rumania a "scion of the Imperial family of Austria"—which latter, of course, opposed Charles's accession by every means available; and he assigns the present pope to "a noble family of Bologna" instead of Genoa. On p. 268 he repeats a slur against Rumania of exactly the same source and nature as the anti-Italian ones which he combats; and he quotes approvingly other Austro-Hungarian propaganda on the same general subject. He affects the use of many Italian and French words in the text and maps—*calvaria*, *Sindaco* (in several forms), *matériel*, *sparti-acque*; but the misprints of Italian proper names, even on the maps, are so flagrant as to be inexcusable—Cortino (several times), the Tofano, and even Cesare Battisto; the maps are otherwise clear and serviceable. There is an index. The style falls much below the expectations of admirers of Mr. Page's plantation stories. It is a pity that this book, with all its excellencies, comes far short of what is sadly needed—an authoritative account of Italy's war, from Italian and Austrian sources, but by some American like Generals Swift or Treat, who followed close at hand the titanic struggle up under the glaciers or over the limestone wastes of the Carso.

CHARLES UPSON CLARK.

*A True Account of the Battle of Jutland, May 31, 1916.* By Thomas G. Frothingham, Captain U. S. R. (Cambridge, Bacon and Brown, 1920, pp. vi, 54, \$1.00.) This short account of the battle of Jutland has the advantage of having been written after the story by Admiral Scheer, the German commander-in-chief, has been given to the world, thus supplementing the reports of Admiral Jellicoe and his subordinates. The account, if correct, does not add to the professional reputation of Admiral Jellicoe or Vice-Admiral Beatty, but it especially justifies the complaints that the German fleet possessed many advantages over the British fleet in construction, armament, and

equipment, and especially in night signalling, the German admiral being able to perform his manoeuvres with comparatively few master signals.

As a matter of fact, as the author says, the escape of the German fleet did not have any actual effect upon the situation and command of the seas. It did, as reported, however, cheer the German people, and brought home to the British navy that, in the words of Sir Percy Scott, "The British fleet was not properly equipped for fighting an action at night. The German fleet was." The sea power remained with the British navy, however, and the war went on with that basis.

*Great Men and Great Days.* By Stéphane Lauzanne, editor of *Le Matin*, member of the French Mission to the United States. (New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1921, pp. vii, 262, \$3.00.) Of the dozen essays in this volume, the greater part are devoted to sketches of eminent persons—Delcassé, Joffre, Poincaré, Clémenceau, Millerand, Lloyd George, Wilson, Roosevelt, and Colonel House; the other two or three picture the spirit of America in 1918. It is gratifying to see ourselves thus depicted when at our best, by a friendly but acute observer, and it is salutary to be reminded, in these days of 1921, of the level of idealism we then reached. The sketches of persons also contain penetrating observations, but after all are journalism, with the familiar defects of that sort of writing. A review of a small book is not a fitting place in which to discuss the usefulness to history of the innumerable volumes of collected newspaper pieces on the political aspects of the war and its consequences, which journalists are now putting forth in the interval of several years which must elapse before many books of more solid history will come out; yet a little thought can well be bestowed upon the insufficiency of the whole genus. It is the journalist's trade to speak instantly, positively, with the air of certainty and of superior information, and with exaggerated exhibition of familiarity with great men and of influence upon their conduct, concerning things about which neither the journalist nor any one else can yet be certain. Government by public opinion tends to become government by newspaper men, who are usually clever, but whose knowledge in the great fields of politics and economics is notoriously superficial. This brings one set of evils to the great world; out to the lesser world of historians another set of dangers comes if, while waiting for better opinions, we allow our minds to be much impressed by the cock-sure pronouncements of those whose success in their profession depends upon exaggerating daily the value of what they have to say. However, M. Lauzanne's book is good of its kind. His learned translator refers to a book entitled *My Prison[s]* as by "Silvius Pellicus".

*Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts. Volume XXII. Plymouth Church Records, 1620-1850. Part I.* (Boston, the Society, 1920, pp. lxx, 470, \$3.50.) The present volume forms part I. of *Plymouth Church Records*, and offers to the public the contents of volume I. and a portion of volume II. of the records as preserved in manuscript. The complete work as published will comprise over seven hundred pages of text and will contain eighteen carefully chosen illustrations. The introduction is by Mr. Arthur Lord.

Professor Fred N. Robinson in his preface makes the following statement concerning the book: "It is believed that no more important contribution to the ecclesiastical history of New England has been made than will be found in these volumes." We concede that an extended and useful work has here been edited by the Colonial Society. Many persons interested in the Pilgrim story will welcome the publication, though its contents may prove disappointing in certain respects to the historian, for the two earliest and best divisions of the book are already well known to those at all familiar with Pilgrim history. The first section was for the most part published years ago in Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*. Furthermore, it cannot correctly be styled a portion of the Church Records, nor apparently do any exist for this early period. Section I. is rather an "Ecclesiasticall history" of the congregation down to 1680. The second part has been published in the *Mayflower Descendant*.

Secondly, the Records are singularly lacking in information which might throw new light upon puzzling problems connected with the beginnings of the English dissenting movement, while they do contain facts of little interest which might have been omitted without great loss.

The work of editing has been so carefully done that one can only wish that it had been done still better. In the first place, the three sets of photostat reproductions which have been made of the three original volumes of the Records should have rendered unnecessary the desire of the editor to reproduce faithfully all the peculiarities of the manuscript text. Secondly, one could wish that some additional notes might have been included, and that one or two others might have appeared in altered form, in order to bring them up to date.

However, we have been referring chiefly to minor details. It is good to have all this material brought together at last, and we congratulate the Colonial Society on the successful accomplishment of its undertaking.

CHAMPLIN BURRAGE.

*La Intervención de España en la Independencia de los Estados Unidos de la América del Norte.* By Manuel Conrotte. (Madrid, V. Suarez, 1920, pp. 298.) Spain's part in the American Revolution was a



very wavering and equivocal one. Her financial aid to the colonies was important—Señor Conrotte accounts for nearly eight million *reales* from Spain direct, with well toward a million more from the Spanish colonies—and at least the vigorous offensives of Governor Gálvez of Louisiana against Baton Rouge, Mobile, and Pensacola, did something toward dividing British effort; but Spain had no consistent policy with regard to the Revolution, largely because, although she was tied to France by the Family Compact and although she was an enemy of England, she had no real sympathy for the Protestant republicans whom France had pushed her into supporting, nor any desire to set her own colonies a bad example by encouraging other colonies to rebellion. The present study of this, for Spain, puzzled and inglorious period, is admirably impartial and objective, being based for the most part directly on official documents in the National Historical Archives at Madrid. In at least one respect it is a real contribution. Nowhere else, surely, is so firmly documented a presentation to be found of the rôle played in the drama of American independence by the Spanish minister Floridablanca and by the Spanish ambassador at the court of Versailles, the spirited and keen-sighted Conde de Aranda. The cold, shrewd, and patient jurist Floridablanca lacked that generous enthusiasm which might have treated the Spanish colonies with such liberality as to make a Spanish Canada of South America and a Spanish Australia of the Philippines; and Aranda could foresee the dreary future with astonishing clearness, but could not muster the sturdy gifts to avert it. Seventy-five pages of documents as an appendix give the book considerable value for reference, although it unfortunately lacks an index.

ROY TEMPLE HOUSE.

*Early Quaker Education in Pennsylvania.* By Thomas Woody, Ph. D., Assistant Professor of Education, University of Pennsylvania. [Teachers College, Columbia University, Contributions to Education, no. 105.] (New York, Teachers College, 1920, pp. 287, \$3.00.) This book presents a study of the relation of one religious denomination in Pennsylvania to education previous to the year 1800. The first two chapters treat of the origin and organization of the Quakers, the third of their educational ideals, the next five of the origin and development of Quaker schools in Philadelphia, Bucks, Montgomery, Chester, and Delaware counties. The remaining chapters are on the internal organization of the schools, and the education of negroes and Indians, ending with a summary of the whole volume.

In particular, attention is given to the views of George Fox, his insistence on moral and religious training, and his desire to extend the benefits of education to negroes, Indians, and the poorer classes of society. There is a discussion of the relations of the various types of meetings for the control and support of the schools. The educational ideals of leading Quakers are set forth, especially those of William Penn,

Anthony Benezet, John Woolman, and Thomas Budd. The history of the origin and development of each school is given in considerable detail. There is much information respecting the control and support of schools, teachers, buildings and grounds, school work, text-books, pupils, subjects in the curriculum, etc. The author estimates that in 1750 there were about fifty particular meetings in the area covered by the study, while forty-one schools were regularly established under Quaker control before or "in the period following 1750" (p. 270), a number "in no way adequate to the school population" (p. 271), viz., the children of Quaker parentage of school age, which he estimates at from six to seven thousand in 1741.

The author seems to have discovered and presented the important facts of Quaker education, using the term educational facts in the narrow sense of the word. He makes little attempt to account for his facts or to show what social, economic, and other factors influenced educational progress or lack of progress; nor does he attempt to show the relation of Quaker education to the larger eighteenth-century movements and forces in American history of a general character or even those specifically educational. On the other hand this book is a good illustration of the change in the content and point of view in the writing of educational history. We are supplied with facts and not merely with the theories of educational reformers. The book also illustrates the fact that many of the most important sources of our educational history are still in manuscript. The foot-notes and bibliography show that the author used the manuscript records of forty-one meetings of various types, besides numerous other manuscript sources. Moreover he has scrupulously given the evidence for every important statement of fact, another innovation, shall we say, in comparison with many previous treatises in educational history. The author has made a real contribution to American educational history and it is safe to say that his book will remain authoritative in its field.

MARCUS W. JERNEGAN.

*Journal of a Fur-Trading Expedition on the Upper Missouri, 1812-1813.* By John C. Luttig, Clerk of the Missouri Fur Company. Edited by Stella M. Drumm. (St. Louis, Missouri Historical Society, 1920, pp. 192, \$6.00.) Those who are interested in the fur-trade as a régime, not merely as an economic factor in American history, are indebted once more to the Missouri Historical Society of St. Louis for the publication of the hitherto unknown Luttig's journal. Luttig, who accompanied as a clerk the trading expedition of Manuel Lisa on its Missouri voyage of 1812-1813, gives a typical trader's report of conditions in that portion of the West during the early years of the second war with Great Britain. If the journal, as its editor states, "covers a period when the fur trade was at its worst", it certainly shows the fur-trader Manuel Lisa at his heroic best. The efforts of the Northwest Company

traders to incite the Indians of the upper Missouri against the American frontier were bravely parried by the sturdy Americanism of this Spanish-Frenchman, newly become a citizen of our republic. Even in his slow retreat before the aggressions of the British-influenced tribesmen he kept together his men, impressed the Indians, and saved not only his own expedition, but the frontier settlements of Iowa and Missouri.

Apart from the war, the interest of the journal centres in the picturesque characters of both French and Indian, with some of whom the pages of Lewis and Clark made us familiar. Reuben Lewis, brother of the great explorer, Jean Baptiste Point du Sable, the negro who was Chicago's "first white inhabitant", it is interesting to meet again. Most interesting of all, perchance, is Sakakawea, the "Bird Woman", famous guide of the Lewis and Clark expedition, the time and place of whose death this journal for the first time makes known.

The editorial work is the result of long and patient research in the old court records and fur-trade documents which form the treasure of the society. The volume is a mine of information concerning the traders of the first American period, their families, and their several voyages; the notes form almost a compendium of early Missouri traders. The sketches of the Indian tribes are from more obvious sources, but are in the main accurate and helpful. The editor, however, adds the "s" to form the plural of tribal names, which the Bureau of Ethnology requests shall be the same as the singular. The Sioux were first known to French traders in the seventeenth, not in the eighteenth century (p. 54, note). The "pliable nature of the Indian character" (p. 23) is certainly a new interpretation of aboriginal traits.

The usefulness of the volume is enhanced by the very full bibliography which accompanies it. The execution is attractive, and the illustrations really illustrate. The whole volume justifies its dedication to William K. Bixby, and its acknowledgment of the aid and appreciation of Judge Walter Douglas, of whose fostering care the Missouri Historical Society has so recently been bereaved.

L. P. K.

*Life and Times of Stevens Thomson Mason, the Boy Governor of Michigan.* By Lawton T. Hemans. (Lansing, Michigan Historical Commission, 1920, pp. 528, \$1.00.) The author, at one time the president of the Michigan Historical Commission and a very able member of the state railroad commission, did not live to complete his book. The last chapter was written by Mr. William L. Jenks, the preface by Mrs. Hemans. The author set for himself a double task: to write a history of Michigan through the first years of statehood, and to refute "the calumnies heaped upon the Boy Governor" of these years, Stevens Thomson Mason. One can readily understand how the author came under the spell of the personality of the descendant of the Virginia Masons, favorite of a circle of national leaders among whom his father passed

as one, of a youth who in his twentieth year was the secretary and acting governor of a great western territory, and who before his thirtieth year had been twice elected governor of Michigan. It is an interesting episode in practical politics of President Jackson's time. But his historical method, of resting his case wholly upon the letters of the sisters and the daughter, and upon the speeches of the person he is vindicating, is not convincing. The book is an eulogy of the Boy Governor, a veritable prodigy according to the author.

The tone and historical method in accomplishing the other task is much better. There is a lack of proper proportions. There is special pleading in the account of the boundary dispute with Ohio, and the relations of the people of Michigan with Canada in the Canadian Rebellion of 1837-1838. But the chapters on banks and banking, internal improvements, the financial difficulties of Michigan during the panic of 1837, and the triumph of the Whigs in 1839, are well worth while. The Michigan Historical Commission published in 1916 *The Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan*, by George N. Fuller. This volume by Mr. Hemans, with emphasis upon the political events for the same years, is supplementary to the preceding, and the two volumes constitute a creditable beginning of a history of another of the states of the Old Northwest.

*Confidential Correspondence of Gustavus V. Fox, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, 1861-1865.* Edited by Robert Means Thompson and Richard Wainwright. Volumes I. and II. [Publications of the Naval History Society, vols. IX. and X.] (New York, De Vinne Press, 1918, 1919, pp. xvi, 440; xx, 492.) The confidential correspondence of Assistant Secretary of the Navy Fox is one of the three principal sources of information for the history of the American navy during the Civil War. The other two sources are official letters of the Navy Department, now largely published in the *Records of the Rebellion*, and the *Diary of Gideon Welles* (1911). These three sources supplement each other. In some respects the Fox correspondence is more valuable than the official letters, since under the protection of privacy the writers wrote with less restraint. Moreover Fox's long service in the navy and his large acquaintance with naval officers were conducive to a free exchange of views. The letters of Admiral Porter, which are of unusual interest, are noteworthy for their candor.

It is understood that the two volumes now published are to be followed by a third. The letters published cover the years 1861-1864 and relate to some of the most important naval operations of the war. They contain much valuable information respecting Fox's attempt to relieve Fort Sumter, Dupont's expedition against Port Royal and Charleston, Goldsborough's expedition against Roanoke Island and his movements in the North Carolina sounds, Farragut's capture of New Orleans and opening of the Mississippi, Foote's services on the

upper Mississippi, and the operations of Porter and S. P. Lee, each of whom commanded the Mississippi squadron and the North Atlantic Blockading squadron. The volumes also contain a large "miscellaneous correspondence" which includes letters to and from officers of the army, other officers of the government, and distinguished private citizens.

The editors have been generous in their inclusion of letters, and one may believe that those excluded possess but little historical value. They have made no annotations, and thereby have passed on to the reader not a few perplexing questions respecting proper names and obscure passages that good editing usually clears up. The books are beautifully printed, and doubtless will be thoroughly indexed in the final volume. Admiral Goodrich contributes an excellent "foreword" to the second volume.

CHARLES O. PAULLIN.

*History of Education in Iowa.* By Clarence Ray Aurner. Volume V. (Iowa City, State Historical Society, 1920, pp. x, 370, \$2.00.) In its general characteristics the fifth volume of this notable *History of Education in Iowa* does not differ markedly from the four volumes already reviewed (XX, 897; XXII, 190). The same excellence of make-up and care in citation are evident. This volume is devoted to the more or less unrelated subsidiary institutions of the state educational system. Four chapters are devoted to the College for the Blind, five chapters to the School for the Deaf, four chapters to the Soldiers' Orphans' Home, six to the Reform (Industrial) Schools, and three to the Institution for the Feeble-Minded.

While none of these chapters offers special opportunity for literary or pedagogical discussion, it must be noted that the method of the author in following year by year the official reports of the boards and superintendents of these institutions fails to give a very satisfactory perspective of the worth of the effort of the state in establishing these institutions. An exception to this statement is to be found in chapter XX., which deals with the problems of the Asylum for Feeble-Minded Children.

The volume gives the impression of more or less padding to make it of the same size, if not of the same historical interest, as the preceding volumes. Here again the tendency to write out in full the figures which ought to be tabulated in the text, becomes a weariness to the flesh and an irritation to the spirit; for example, on about a page (pp. 256-257) not less than twenty-four figures of enrollment in the industrial schools constitute the body of the text.

The history of these five schools illustrates very well what has happened in many other states than Iowa, often with pathetic consequences: the shifting centre of gravity of schools as they are moved

from one place to another under the impulse of politics or according to the limitations of ignorant boards; and the variations in the success of these schools, because of inexpert leadership, parsimony of state legislatures, and changes in the purposes of the school, as in the case of the Soldiers' Orphans' Home, and the Reform School.

Such a co-ordinated summary as Dr. Aurner has made here of the specialized institutions for the care and education of delinquent children of Iowa will have permanent value both as a record of things to be avoided, and of things to serve as models for other states.

KENDRIC C. BADCOCK.

*The Life and Work of Sir William Van Horne.* By Walter Vaughan. (New York, Century Company, 1920, pp. vii, 388, \$5.00.) An interesting contrast between the Canadian, James J. Hill, developer of the American Northwest, and William Van Horne, born of old native stock, who found his field of operations in Canada, is opened up to detailed study by this biography. The data were assembled at Van Horne's own request, by Miss Katherine Hughes. He died before she finished, but his heirs continued her on the task; and then turned over the result, for reasons not revealed, to the responsible author, Mr. Vaughan, who was an old associate of Van Horne.

William Van Horne had the rare experience of making his career as a railroad man in the United States, and then of being shifted, before his fortieth birthday, to autocratic charge of the Canadian Pacific, then under construction. He built that road, with the patronage, indeed, of Donald A. Smith and George Stephen; and when their services to the empire were recognized by their elevation as Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal and Lord Mountstephen, Van Horne became in time Sir William. After his retirement from the Canadian Pacific, he gained new fame by building the Cuba railroad, in the administration of Leonard Wood.

He dashes through the book as a demigod. With a physique that almost defied indiscretion, he disregarded all the laws of sleep and diet. He drove ahead all day; could paint landscapes or play poker all night with equal facility; and could return fresh to his desk with only an apology for sleep. He was an amateur prestidigitator, a mind-reader, a collector of works of art, and a professional host in his mansion in Montreal and at his island home in the bay of the St. Croix River.

The contribution of the book to our knowledge of the development of the Northwest is real, in spite of its sparing documentation. His understanding of America was bi-national. Long before President Taft wrote incautiously to Colonel Roosevelt that Canadian reciprocity would make the Canadian Northwest an appendage of New York, Van Horne had begun to fight reciprocity for this very reason (1891); and when the 1911 agreement was drawn up he declared himself out "to do all I can

to bust the damn thing". Taft, he asserted, "is an extremely good-natured gentleman who makes promises without much consideration and is too honourable to go back on them". Roosevelt he describes as summoning him to the White House to talk about Cuba: "I was with the President for half an hour or more. During that time he told me many things about Cuba, some of which were not correct. . . . During the whole of my visit he never asked me a single question and never gave me a chance to open my mouth."

It would be fortunate if we knew as much about Gould, Stanford, Huntington, and Tom Scott, the builders of the Southwest railroads, as we now know about Strathcona, Hill, Villard, Cooke, and Van Horne.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

*A History of English-Canadian Literature to the Confederation.* By Ray Palmer Baker, Ph. D., Professor of English in the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press; London, Humphrey Milford, 1920, pp. ix, 200, \$2.50.) Within the narrow limits of this study, Dr. Baker has not only compressed an astonishing amount of information on an obscure subject, but he has invested it with unusual interest and suggestion. That Canada has produced anything worthy to be called literature will come to many readers as a surprise; but the evidence submitted admits of no doubt. Dr. Baker's work is based on a minute and exhaustive survey of the whole field in which he is a pioneer. It is very far removed from the conventional catalogue of authors and their works which passes as history of literature. The relations of Canada's literary production to the political, social, and religious currents of thought have been thoroughly studied, and are clearly shown. This history of literature is, in fact, a masterly essay on the development of the nation Canada, as expressed in her literature. Not the least of its merits is the style, which is clear, masculine, and concise. While free from chauvinistic bias, Dr. Baker writes with the sure touch and sympathy natural to a son of the soil. The period he treats of is less rich in national consciousness than that which follows; but it is there in embryo. Among the chief formative influences were the migration of the United Empire Loyalists, the War of 1812, and the rise of democracy. Their reactions upon literary activity are undoubted. The first Canadian college was founded by Loyalists. Howe, who won responsible government for Nova Scotia, was the son of a Loyalist. So was Haliburton, the creator of "Sam Slick", and the father of American humor. Richardson, the novelist, fought as a boy officer in the War of 1812, and his novels are largely based on that experience. The general reader, the special student, and the historian will all "find their account" in this admirable study.

ARCHIBALD MACMECHAN.



*La Personalidad de Manuel Belgrano.* By Emilio Ravignani. (Buenos Aires, 1920, pp. 32.) In the few pages of this monograph, which is no. VI. in the series published by the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the National University of Buenos Aires, Dr. Ravignani, who has recently become director of that faculty's history section, presents a clear picture of Don Manuel Belgrano y González, whose career he divides into two aspects, civil and military. Dr. Ravignani shows no contradiction between these aspects, for the civil employe who as a youth sought to propagate new ideas in economics, and presently to elevate the social and intellectual plane of his compatriots (to accomplish which he founded schools and a pioneer Argentine newspaper), later, as a general commanding revolutionary forces, inspired them with a sense of honor and morality which were, and are, a credit to the national flag of the Argentine Republic, which he, also, was the first to unfurl. An appendix contains six letters, written by Belgrano between 1810 and 1819, printed from originals in the possession of the Academy of Philosophy and Letters of the National University of Buenos Aires.

I. A. WRIGHT.

## HISTORICAL NEWS

The managing editor of this journal will be absent from the United States from June 24 until November. Correspondence may continue to be addressed to him at 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C. He regrets that a strike of printers will delay the issue of this number of the *Review* until a date very much later than the first of July.

It would be a great favor if any persons possessing copies of the number of this journal for October, 1920, which they do not wish to retain, would send them to the office of the managing editor, where they are greatly needed.

At a recent meeting of the Board of Editors of this journal Professor Guy S. Ford was chosen chairman of the Board.

### AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

There has been so great a demand for the *Autobiography of Martin Van Buren*, which constitutes vol. II. of the *Annual Report* for 1918 (the Association's "best seller") that the Government Printing Office has printed a thousand additional copies. They may be purchased at a dollar apiece (money sent with order—checks not receivable) from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.

### PERSONAL

John W. Platner, professor of ecclesiastical history in Andover Theological Seminary, died March 18, at the age of fifty-five. He had held the chair indicated since 1901.

Professor Herbert D. Foster of Dartmouth College has been granted a year's leave of absence which he will spend in Europe. Mr. L. D. Stilwell has been promoted to the grade of assistant professor.

Professor Milledge L. Bonham, jr., will teach during the summer at the University of Vermont, Professor R. V. D. Magoffin will be at Columbia University for the summer session, while Professor George M. Dutcher will teach at the southern session of the University of California in Los Angeles.

In April and May Professor Arthur I. Andrews of Tufts College gave a course of lectures on American Foreign Policy, its Characteristics and its Development from Washington to Harding, in the University of Prague. He returns to America in September. In May Professor J. A. James of Northwestern University, now in Europe

on leave of absence, began a series of lectures in American history in the same Bohemian university.

Professor H. M. Varrell of Simmons College, Boston, will spend the coming year in Europe on leave of absence.

At Wesleyan University Professor George M. Dutcher has been granted leave of absence for the coming academic year, part of which he will spend in Japan, China, and India. Professor H. M. Wriston, who has been on leave engaged in research, will resume his duties at the university, and kindly takes Professor Dutcher's place in assisting this journal in the collection of material for our news section.

Professor Charles D. Hazen, who has been lecturer at the University of Strasbourg during the past year, will return to his post at Columbia University this autumn, as will Professor Robert L. Schuyler, who has been on leave during the spring term as lecturer in the University of London. Professor William R. Shepherd will be on leave during the coming year and will lecture in England and Spain; his place will be supplied during the spring session of next year by Professor Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California. The leave of absence of Professor James T. Shotwell, who is director for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace of its monumental social and economic history of the war, will be continued another year. Messrs. Parker T. Moon and Harry J. Carman have been promoted to the grade of assistant professor, while Assistant-Professor Benjamin B. Kendrick has been promoted to be associate professor.

Miss Frances H. Relf, professor of history in Lake Erie College, has been called thence to an appointment for historical research in Cornell University.

At the Johns Hopkins University, this year's series of the James Schouler lectures was given in April by Professor J. Holland Rose of Cambridge, his subject being *Sidelights on the World War*. The Albert Shaw Lectures in Diplomatic History were given in May by Professor Percy A. Martin of Stanford University; his subject was *Hispanic America and the War*.

At the University of Michigan, Professor Edward R. Turner will be absent on leave during the next academic year; his place will be supplied by Professor A. B. White of Minnesota.

Dr. Samuel B. Harding, formerly professor of history in the University of Indiana, will teach during the coming year in the University of Minnesota.

Professors Frank A. Golder of Washington State College and Edward M. Hulme of the University of Idaho have been appointed associate professors of European history in Stanford University. Professor Golder's period of service in Europe, in the interest of the

Hoover Collection of material on the history of the recent war, has, however, been extended by another year. During six months of that time Dr. H. Barrett Learned will again lecture in Stanford University.

We note appointments and promotions as follows: D. H. Bacot, to be assistant professor in Washington and Lee University; C. J. Brosnan, to be assistant professor of American history in the University of Idaho; S. R. Ganmon, jr., to be professor of history and political science in Austin College, Texas; C. B. Goodykoontz, to be assistant professor of American history in the University of Colorado; Paul V. B. Jones, to be assistant professor in the University of Illinois; R. J. Kerner, to be professor of history in the University of Missouri; Paul Knaplund, to be assistant professor in the University of Wisconsin; J. A. O. Larsen, to be assistant professor of ancient history in the University of Washington; S. R. Packard, to be assistant professor in Smith College; Joseph H. Park, to be assistant professor in New York University; H. W. van Loon, to be professor of history in Antioch College; R. B. Yewdale, to be assistant professor in the University of Wisconsin; T. J. Wertenbaker, to be associate professor in Princeton University; Carl Wittke, to be assistant professor of American history in Ohio State University; W. K. Woolery, to be assistant professor in Bethany College, West Virginia.

#### GENERAL

The April, May, and June numbers of the *Historical Outlook* sustain its high character. The April number has a general survey of the provisions for Historical Study in English Universities, by Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt; a full account of Research Work in the Historical Branch of the General Staff, by Colonel Oliver L. Spaulding, jr., head of that branch, and a further installment of the report of the Committee on History and Education for Citizenship, being part III., a syllabus for ninth-grade study of American industries, prepared by Miss Frances M. Morehouse of the University of Minnesota High School. The May number has some very interesting data respecting recent History Teaching in Germany, presented by Professor R. W. Kelsey; a paper on the Rise and Fall of the Independent Treasury, by Professor R. C. McGrane; and part IV. of the committee report already named, being a syllabus for modern history in the tenth grade, prepared by Dr. Daniel C. Knowlton. The June number presents part V., a syllabus for United States history in the eleventh grade, by Miss Morehouse.

The Pulitzer Prize of \$2000 for the best historical work produced by an American during the past year was bestowed in June upon Rear-Admiral William S. Sims and Mr. Burton J. Hendrick, for *The Victory at Sea* (see p. 333).

The April number of the *Catholic Historical Review* opens the first volume of the new series, in which the scope of the journal is radically

changed, as was mentioned in our last issue, from the special pursuit of Catholic history in the United States into the broader field of general church history. The history of the Catholic Church in the United States is so largely a virgin field, in which valuable and welcome contributions may constantly be made, that it will be much more difficult to maintain an equally high standard of value when the journal is put into competition with the learned European journals of ecclesiastical history. The first article is a report of the first annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, and the other articles are papers read on that occasion: Social Catholic Movement in France under the Third Republic, by Professor Parker T. Moon of Columbia University; the Personality and Character of Gregory VII. in Recent Historical Research, a brief but excellent survey, by Rev. Thomas Oestreich, O. S. B.; the Rise of the Papal States up to the Time of Charlemagne's Coronation, by Rev. Joseph N. Woods, S. J.; and Benedict XV. and the Historical Basis for Thomistic Study, by Rev. Dr. Henry I. Smith, O. P. There is also a commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of St. Mary's Cathedral in Halifax, and a list of the Catholic press in the United States, with bibliographical notes respecting the earlier papers.

In the April number of the *Journal of Negro History* appear four articles. The principal one is by A. A. Taylor, Making West Virginia a Free State; the others, by Fred Landon, on Canadian Negroes in the John Brown Raid; by Dr. J. Fred Rippy of the University of Chicago, on the Negro and the Spanish Pioneers in the New World; and by A. G. Lindsay, on the Economic Condition of the Negroes of New York, prior to 1861.

The April number of *History* opens with an interesting paper on the Beginnings of Colleges in the English Universities, by the Master of Jesus College, Cambridge; and there is also a valuable survey of Europe before the War, by Mr. G. P. Gooch, and a historical survey of Serbia and the Jugo-Slav Movement, by Dr. R. W. Seton-Watson.

The *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries have hitherto contained simply a record of the doings of the society, some of the papers read at its meetings, and some of the ensuing discussions. Now however this ancient society begins instead of this record to print the *Antiquaries Journal*, intended to have a broader scope, embracing archaeological progress on the Continent as well as in England, a wider survey of archaeological literature, and articles of various interest. The first number, that for January, 1921, has, among other papers, an account of the Latin Monastic Buildings of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, by Mr. A. W. Clapham; an interim report on the explorations at Stonehenge, now the property of the nation, by Lieut.-Col. W. Hawley; and an account of the discovery of silver at Traprain Law, on Mr. Balfour's estate, already mentioned in these pages. The number also contains much interesting news of recent archaeological work. The annual subscription to the new journal is 18s. 6d., including postage.

M. Henri Berr, editor of the *Revue de Synthèse Historique*, has for some years been planning and organizing a general survey of the world's history, *Bibliothèque de Synthèse Historique: l'Évolution de l'Humanité*, in a hundred handy volumes, about equally divided between the four sections of (1) introduction, prehistory, proto-history, and antiquity, (2) the origins of Christianity, and the Middle Ages, (3) modern history, and (4) history of the contemporary period. The scheme is intended "to embrace the earth in its whole extent and humanity in its entire evolution", and the volumes (15 fr. each) are to be prepared by highly competent specialists who can also write. The first volume has already appeared: *La Terre avant l'Histoire: les Origines de la Vie et de l'Homme*, by Professor Edmund Perrier, of the Academy of Sciences, honorary director of the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle. The next will be *L'Humanité Pré-historique*, by M. Jacques de Morgan. The volumes of ancient history will be written by such scholars as MM. A. Moret, Gustave Glotz, Pierre Jouguet, J. Toutain, Victor Chapot, Clément Huart, and Charles Guignebert; the volumes of medieval history, by such as MM. Charles Diehl, Ferdinand Lot, Louis Halphen, Charles Petit-Dutaillis, and Georges Bourgin. The history of civilization will be emphasized throughout. It is evident that the series will be of high importance. The volumes will have such illustrations as are necessary.

*The New Stone Age in Northern Europe* (New York, Scribners; London, Bell) by Dr. John M. Tyler, emeritus professor of biology in Amherst College, a work based on the archaeological studies of the last two decades, takes up the story of the evolution of the human race at the point at which it was left by Professor Osborn in his *Men of the Old Stone Age*, and carries it on to the dawn of history.

The Cambridge University Press brings out *Pre-History*, by M. C. Burkitt, a study of early cultures in Europe and the Mediterranean basin, with a preface by the Abbé Breuil, with whom the author has studied the prehistoric caves of France and Spain.

Dr. Charles Singer has edited, and the Oxford University Press has published, a second volume of *Studies in the History and Method of Science*, in which will be found papers by Dr. Singer himself on Greek Biology and its relation to the Rise of Modern Biology, and on the steps leading to the invention of the first optical apparatus; a paper by J. L. E. Dryer on medieval astronomy; one by Robert Steele on Roger Bacon and the state of science in the thirteenth century; by H. Hopstock of Christiana on Leonardo as anatomist; by E. T. Withington on the Asclepiadae and the priests of Asclepius; by J. J. Fahie on the scientific works of Galileo, etc.

Messrs. Bell of London have issued the fourth volume of Sir Guy Laking's *History of European Armour and Arms*. The fifth and concluding volume, which will probably be ready before the end of the year, will finish the seventeenth century, and contain important appendixes.

An Institute of Politics has been founded at Williams College, to hold sessions in its buildings during the summer for the consideration of problems in which history has its share. The subject chosen for this summer's session is that of International Relations. There will be lectures by scholars and statesmen from abroad and round-table conferences conducted by professors in leading American institutions. Among those expected to lecture are Viscount Bryce, Signor Tommaso Tittoni, Baron Sergius A. Korff, Mr. Stephen Panarettoff, Count Paul Teleki, and Professor Achille Viallate. Among those who will conduct round-table conferences, we note the names of Professors A. C. Coolidge, C. H. Haskins, R. H. Lord, and J. S. Reeves.

A revised edition of Professor Frederick A. Ogg's *The Governments of Europe* (Macmillan, 1920, pp. x, 775) differs largely from the original edition of 1913, taking due account of the extraordinary developments of the intervening years, developing more fully, to twice or three times their original extent, the accounts of the government and politics of Great Britain and France, adding chapters respecting the institutions of republican Germany and Russia, but making no attempt to cover the governments of the lesser states established on the wreck of Austria-Hungary. The historical element in the volume is of about the same proportions as in its predecessor.

*The Neutralization of States: a Study in Diplomatic History and International Law* (Meadville, Pa., the author, pp. 180), a doctoral dissertation in Columbia University, by Clair F. Littell, sets forth the historical development of permanent neutrality in the cases of Switzerland, Belgium, Luxemburg, the Congo Free State, and some minor instances, and discusses the chief problems which have arisen in connection with such states.

*Orders, Decorations, and Insignia, Military and Civil, with the History and Romance of their Origin and a Full Description of Each*, by Col. Robert E. Wyllie, of the General Staff, U. S. A., published with 367 illustrations, over 200 of which are in color (pp. xxi, 269), embraces both European and American decorations.

A *Chronology of Iron and Steel*, from prehistoric times to the present day, compiled by Stephen L. Goodale, and edited by J. Ramsey Speer, is published by the Pittsburgh Iron and Steel Foundries Company.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Dr. Cabanès, *La Méthode Scientifique appliquée à l'Histoire: Taine, Historien Physiologiste* (Compte Rendu de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, July, 1920); A. Niceforo, *Preliminari ad uno Studio Quantitativo della Civiltà e del Progresso* (Rivista Italiana di Sociologia, January, April); J. W. Thompson, *The Aftermath of the Black Death and the Aftermath of the Great War* (American Journal of Sociology, March).



## ANCIENT HISTORY

General review: L. Deubner, *Griechische und Römische Religion, 1911-1914* (Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, XX. 1).

The useful index volume for E. Cavaignac's *Histoire de l'Antiquité* (Paris, Boccard, 1921, pp. 120) is now available.

A critical biographical study of *Der Jüdische Historiker, Flavius Josephus* (Giessen, Münchow, 1920, pp. viii, 280), has been written by R. Laqueur.

Professor Carl Robert of Halle has written *Archäologische Hermeneutik, Anleitung zur Deutung Klassischen Bildwerke* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1919, pp. 432). The book is enriched with about three hundred illustrations. The same scholar is engaged in the preparation of the fourth edition of L. Preller's *Griechische Mythologie*. While the first volume of this edition appeared in 1894 with the title, *Theogonie und Götter*, the second volume has only now come to hand; it bears the title, *Die Griechische Heldensage* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1920, pp. xii, 419). The editor has undertaken to incorporate the results of later researches and has consequently produced a work which is largely new.

The first of four volumes of Herodotus is presented in the *Loeb Classical Library* (London, Heinemann; New York, Putnam) according to the familiar methods of that series, comprising the first two books; the translation is by Mr. A. D. Godley, of Magdalena College, Oxford.

On the basis of all literary and epigraphic material available, Professor Friedrich Bilabel treats *Die Ionische Kolonisation* (Leipzig, Dieterich), investigating the political and religious organization of the Ionic colonies and their relations to their mother cities.

*Aus der Geschichte des Bankwesens im Altertum, Tesserae Nummulariae* (Giessen, Toepelmann, 1919), by Professor R. Herzog, embodies the results of careful researches.

An important chapter in the history of Roman culture is developed by Dr. Walter J. Sellman in *De Interpretibus Romanorum deque Linguae Latinae cum aliis Nationibus Commercio* (Leipzig, Dieterich, 2 vols.).

In the *Loeb Classical Library*, a volume of Sallust is now presented (London, Heinemann; New York, Putnam), the translation by Professor John C. Rolfe, of the University of Pennsylvania. Besides the *Catiline* and *Jugurtha*, the book contains those fragments of the *Histories* which present whole speeches or letters; also the pseudo-Sallustian *suasoriae* and invectives.

Two volumes of military history by G. Veith have been brought

out, dealing with *Der Feldzug von Dyrrhachium zwischen Caesar und Pompeius* (Vienna, Seidel, 1920, pp. xix, 267), and with *Die Feldzüge des C. Julius Cäsar Octavianus in Illyrien in den Jahren 35-33 v. Chr.* (Vienna, Hölder, 1919, pp. viii, 112).

The firm of S. Hirzel, in Leipzig, is issuing a new edition, the ninth, of Friedländer's *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*, revised and enlarged by Georg Wissowa. Four volumes have appeared.

Professor R. V. D. Magoffin of the Johns Hopkins University has in preparation a book on the three Flavian Caesars.

In the Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études (Paris, Champion), no. 228 (pp. xix, 119) is a workmanlike and almost brilliant dissertation on *La Table Hypothécaire de Veleia*, in which the author, F. G. de Pachtere, killed in the war, studies the history of landed property in the regions of the Apennines above Piacenza with great mastery of the materials and much acuteness of reasoning. No. 229 (pp. xxvii, 52) is *Recherche sur l'Éphébie Attique*, by Mlle. Alice Brenot, who concludes upon the date 335/334 for the origin of the institution.

A. Rostagni has published a critical study of *Giuliano l'Apôta* (Turin, Bocca, 1920), with translations and annotations of Julian's political and satirical writings.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. H. Stevenson, *Ancient Historians and their Sources* (Journal of Philology, XXXV. 70); K. Sethe, *Die Zeitrechnung der alten Ägypter im Verhältnis zu der der andern Völker*, I, II. (Nachrichten von der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 1919, 3, and 1920, 1); A. T. Olmstead, *Babylonia as an Assyrian Dependency* (American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, April); D. D. Luckenbill, *Hittite Treaties and Letters* (ibid.); W. A. Heidel, *Anaximander's Book, the Earliest Known Geographical Treatise* (Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, April); M. Pohlenz, *Thukydidesstudien*, I-III. (Nachrichten von der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 1919, 1, and 1920, 1); C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Pausanias, Hieros Klitos von Byzanz, mit einer Beigabe: der Sturz des Pausanias, des Themistokles, und des Leotychidas* (Klio, XVII. 1); G. J. Laing, *The Origin of the Cult of the Lares* (Classical Philology, April); G. Sigwart, *König Romulus bei Ennius* (Klio, XVII. 1); M. Cary, *The Early Roman Treaties with Tarentum and Rhodes* (Journal of Philology, XXXV. 70); M. Cary, *The Land Legislation of Julius Caesar's First Consulship* (ibid.); E. G. Hardy, *On the Lex Julia Municipalis* (ibid., 69); L. Holzapfel, *Römische Kaiserdaten*, IV. (Klio, XVII. 1); G. Ferrero, *La Ruine de la Civilisation Antique*, IV. *Constantine et le Triomphe du Christianisme* (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 15); W. L. Westermann, *The "Uninundated*

*Lands" in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, II.* (Classical Philology, April).

#### MEDIEVAL HISTORY

General review: E. Jordan, *Histoire Ecclésiastique du Moyen Age* (Revue Historique, January).

Dr. De Lacy O'Leary, lecturer in Aramaic and Syriac in Bristol University, has in preparation, with Messrs. Kegan Paul, *A Study of Arabic Thought and its Place in History*; the Cambridge University Press will soon publish *Arabian Medicine*, by Professor Edward G. Browne, being the Fitzpatrick Lectures delivered at the College of Physicians in 1919 and 1920.

Mr. J. T. Fowler has revised his edition of *Adamnani Vita S. Columbae* (Oxford, Clarendon Press), which originally appeared in 1894, and has brought his notes up to date.

*Pedro di Luna, Ultimo Papa de Aviñon, 1387-1430* (Barcelona, 1920, pp. 632), by S. Puig y Puig, is a detailed account of the turbulent career of the anti-pope Benedict XIII.

Miss Helen Josephine Robins has translated into English, from the volume of selections published by Don Nazareno Orlandi, and has printed in an attractive volume (Siena, Tip. Sociale, pp. 248), thirty-two *Sermons of Saint Bernardine of Siena*, of genuine value to the student of the Italian mind of the fifteenth century.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. J. C. Hearnshaw, *Medieval Conceptions of the Kingdom of God* (Hibbert Journal, April); F. Baethgen, *Der Anspruch des Papsttums auf das Reichsvikariat, Untersuchungen zur Theorie und Praxis der Potestas Indirecta in Temporalibus* (Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung, XLI.); E. Stein, *Untersuchungen zur Staatsrecht des Bas-Empire* (ibid.); J. Haller, *Innozenz III. und das Kaisertum Heinrichs VI.* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, November 15); E. Déprez, *La Bataille de Najera, 3 Avril 1367: le Communiqué du Prince Noir* (Revue Historique, January); G. McN. Rushforth, *Magister Gregorius de Mirabilibus Urbis Romae* (Journal of Roman Studies, IX. 1).

#### MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Macmillan Company has brought out Macmillan's *Historical Atlas of Modern Europe*, a selected series of maps illustrative of the recent history of the chief European states and their dependencies, edited by F. J. C. Hearnshaw.

The publisher Teubner of Leipzig is continuing the publication of the excellent series of brief manuals under the name *Aus Natur und Geisteswelt*. Among the recent issues in the field of history are a second edition of P. Joachimsen's *Vom Deutschen Volk zum Deutschen Staat; Deutsche*

*Verfassungsgeschichte vom Anfange des 10. Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart*, by M. Stimming; a third edition of R. Schwener's *Deutsche Geschichte, 1802-1871, vom Bund zum Reich*; and *Die Slawen*, by Diels. In each of these a wealth of facts is presented concisely; the arrangement is clear and simple, and the material is handled in a scholarly manner.

P. Burg has made abundant use of sources in his biographical study of *Die Schöne Gräfin Königsmarck* (Brunswick, Westermann, 1920, pp. xvi, 446).

The committee on the celebration of the centenary of the death of Napoleon has given its patronage to a richly illustrated work on *Napoléon, sa Vie, son Oeuvre, son Temps* (Paris, Hachette, 1920), which is being published in twenty-four weekly parts. The text is by G. Lacour-Gayet. A similarly illustrated work is F. M. Kircheisen's *Napoléon im Lande der Pyramiden und seine Nachfolger, 1798-1801* (Munich, Müller, 1918, pp. xii, 356). H. Morel-Journel utilizes new materials in his study of *La Politique de Bonaparte en Pays Occupés d'après les Documents recueillis à Vicence sur l'Occupation Française de 1797* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1920, pp. viii, 66). Commandant M. H. Weil also presents new matter in *D'Ulm à Iéna, Correspondance Inédite du Chevalier de Gentz avec Francis James Jackson, Ministre de la Grande-Bretagne à Berlin, 1804-1806* (Paris, Payot, 1921, pp. 336).

*Les Routes des Alpes Occidentales à l'Époque Napoléonienne, 1796-1815* (Grenoble, Imp. Albin, 1921), by Dr. M. Blanchard, presents a wide range of interesting information.

The latest issue in M. Félicien Leuridan's series of the *Oeuvres Posthumes Inédites du Prince de Ligne* is *Ma Napoléonide* (Paris, Champion, pp. ix, 128), a volume of essays on the emperor by one who had many points of contact with him and much experience of the public life of Europe in his time.

Professor Edward R. Turner of Michigan has lately issued a book on *Europe since 1870* (Doubleday, Page, and Company).

Karl Kautsky's *Terrorisme et Communisme* (Paris, Povolozky, 1920) is of interest for its presentation of the author's views of the Paris Commune and of the Russian soviets.

Professor Rudolf Kjellén of the University of Upsala published in 1914 a masterly survey of the organization and conditions of the several great powers at the outbreak of the war, which ran through many editions in Germany during the war under the title *Die Grossmächte der Gegenwart*. These chapters have been revised, and fifty per cent. more material added on the world-crisis and the new order, in *Die Grossmächte und die Weltkrise* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1921, pp. 249). Even though the author's views may arouse dissent, the clear and convenient presentation of facts commend the work as useful.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. Schmitt-Doroté, *Politische Theorie und Romantik* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXIII. 3); E. Pacheco y de Leyva, *Grave Error Político de Carlos I. haciendo la Boda de Felipe II. con Doña María, Reina de Inglaterra* (Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Muséos, January); J. d'Elbée, *La Politique Bavaroise de Louis XIV.* (Revue Hebdomadaire, March 5); O. Hoijer, *La Diplomatie Suédoise et le Retour de l'Île d'Elbe* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, December 15); C. Pagani, *L'Imperatrice Eugénie e la Questione di Roma, con Documenti Inediti* (Nuova Antologia, January 16); E. von Wertheimer, *Zur Vorgeschichte des Krieges von 1870, nach Neuen Quellen*, I.-IV. (Deutsche Rundschau, October-January); C. Loiseau, *La Politique Sociale de la Papauté* (Revue de Paris, February 1).

#### THE GREAT WAR

The series of monographs on the battles of the war, *Schlachten des Weltkrieges*, issued by the German Great General Staff, and designed by General Ludendorff when he became First Quartermaster General, ceased appearing in 1920 when the General Staff was abolished. The continuation of it has now been taken over by the Reichsarchiv, which now issues two thin volumes, *Antwerpen, 1914*, and *Baranowitchi, 1916* (Oldenbourg, Stalling).

*Der Marnefeldzug, 1914* (Berlin, Mittler), by General H. von Kuhl, chief of the general staffs successively of von Kluck and of Crown Prince Rupprecht, gives the most complete account of the operations in August and September, 1914, that has appeared in any language. The narrative is particularly complete as regards the German First, Sixth, and Seventh Armies.

The personal story of Field-Marshal Hindenburg (see pp. 96-98. above) has been published in this country by Harper and Brothers, in a translation, in two volumes, with the title, *Out of My Life*.

Col. F. Feyler has turned his attention as a military critic to *La Campagne de Macédoine, 1916-1917* (Paris, Crès, 1920). *Uskub ou du Rôle de la Cavalerie d'Afrique dans la Victoire* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1920, pp. viii, 387) is by General Jouinot-Gambetta.

Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton of London have published *The German Air Force in the Great War*, translated from the German of Major Georg Paul Neumann, *Die Deutschen Luftstreitkräfte im Weltkriege* (Berlin, Mittler, 1920, pp. 600). Manfred von Richthofen has written a biographical account of *Der Rote Kampfflieger, ein Heldenleben* (Berlin, Ullstein, 1920, pp. 344).

*Government Control and Operation of Industry in Great Britain and the United States during the World War*, by Charles W. Baker, is

issued by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace as no. 18 of its *Preliminary Economic Studies of the War*.

Dr. W. Franknoi has given the Hungarian side of the case in *Die Ungarische Regierung und die Entstehung des Weltkrieges* (Vienna, Seidel, 1919). A. Demblin has discussed the question of Czernin and the Sixtusaffäre (Munich, Drei Masken-Verlag, 1920). J. Hohlfeld has outlined *Der Kampf um den Frieden, 1914-1919* (Leipzig, Bibliographisches Institut, 1919, pp. viii, 219). In *Réflexions d'un Diplomate Optimiste, 1915-1919* (Paris, Bossard, 1920, 2 vols., pp. 374, 284), "Jean Francoeur" comments on diplomatic affairs during the war in the first volume, and on the peace negotiations in the second volume, in which he supports the League of Nations and the policies of President Wilson even from the point of view of French interest. The third volume of O. Hoetzsch's *Der Krieg und die Grosse Politik* (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1918, pp. vi, 671) carries the discussion of events to the German-Russian armistice.

Dr. Bernhard Schwertfeger concludes his remarkable series of diplomatic documents from the Belgian archives by a general historical review, *Der Fehlspruch von Versailles* (Berlin, Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik und Geschichte, pp. 215).

*The Truth about the Treaty*, by M. André Tardieu, French high commissioner to the United States during the war, is from the press of the Bobbs-Merrill Company. There is a preface by Col. Edward M. House and an introduction by M. Clémenceau.

A very recent but very significant year's progress is recorded in the quarto pamphlet of seventy-seven pages, *What the League of Nations has Accomplished in One Year*, by Dr. Charles H. Levermore, in which a mass of official material is skilfully digested for the use of student and citizen. It can be obtained for fifty cents, from the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*. A similar survey, in book form, is *The First Year of the League of Nations*, by Professor George G. Wilson, to which the Covenant is added as an appendix (Boston, Little). Messrs. Macmillan of London will shortly publish *The First Assembly: a Study of the Proceedings of the First Assembly of the League of Nations*, prepared by a committee of the League of Nations Union, including Lord Robert Cecil and Lord Phillimore, and edited by Oliver Brett.

Two well-known French publicists have reviewed events and conditions since the war: Jacques Bainville, under the title, *Les Conséquences Politiques de la Paix* (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1920, pp. viii, 200); and René Pinon, under the title, *La Reconstruction de l'Europe Politique* (Paris, Perrin, 1920).

*The World at the Cross Roads* (Boston, Small, Maynard, and Company, 1921), by Boris Brasol, is a review of international affairs dur-

ing the war and the peace negotiations, which professes to throw new light on the workings of the third Internationale.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Halévy, *Les Origines de la Discorde Anglo-Allemande* (Revue de Paris, February 1); Hans Delbrück, *Did the Kaiser want the War?* [with reply by J. W. Headlam-Morley] (Contemporary Review, March); R. Fester, *Verantwortlichkeiten*, V. *Die Tragödie des Zweibundes* (Deutsche Rundschau, February); H. Delbrück, *Die Strategische Grundfrage des Weltkrieges* (Preussische Jahrbücher, March); General Buat, *Les Principes de Guerre du Maréchal Hindenburg* (Revue Universelle, March); P. Cornard, *Hindenburg d'après Lui-Même* (Revue de Paris, March 1, 15); General Buat, *Une Crise de Commandement dans l'Armée Allemande en 1914-1916* (*ibid.*, January 15, February 1); Capt. F. Lützow, *Der Lusitania-Fall* (Süddeutsche Monatshefte, March); F. Ruffini, *Il Caso di Coscienza del Principe Sisto* (Nuova Antologia, March 1); L. Livi, *I Morti in Europa nella Guerra Recente* (Rivista Internazionale di Scienze Sociali e Discipline Ausiliarie, January); "Mermeix", *L'Armistice du 11 Novembre 1918, Fragment d'Histoire* (Revue Universelle, March); Sten de Geer, *Europas Statsgränser och Statsområden efter Färldskriget* (Ymer, 1920, 4); "Testis", *L'Oeuvre de la France en Syrie* (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 15, March 1); P. Szende, *Die Krise der Mitteleuropäischen Revolution, ein Massenpsychologischer Versuch* (Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik, January); Y. Guyot, *Les Résultats de la Conférence de Paris* (Journal des Économistes, February 15); XXX, *L'Aventure de Fiume* (Revue des Deux Mondes, January 15, March 1, April 1); T. T. C. Gregory, *Stemming the Red Tide: a Narrative of Hoover's Economic Victory in Europe* (World's Work, April, May, June).

#### GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

In the series of *Helps for Students of History* (S. P. C. K.) Mr. J. E. W. Wallis presents the first (pp. 102) of the three volumes of a handbook of *English Regnal Years and Titles, Handlists, Easter Dates, etc.*

Dr. William Farrer's *An Outline Itinerary of King Henry the First* has been reprinted from vol. XXXIV. of the *English Historical Review* in a volume of 183 pages (Oxford University Press).

As a labor of love, Sir Norman Moore, president of the Royal College of Physicians, has prepared *The History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital from its Foundation [in 1123] to the Present Day*, now issued in two quarto volumes, at the price of three guineas (London, C. Arthur Pearson). The history, based upon original authorities, largely quoted, illustrates the social history of London as well as the history of medical knowledge, education, and practice in England. The whole of the profits from the sale of the work is to be devoted to the funds of the hospital.



The attention of students of Anglo-Norman history should be drawn to an excellent little monograph by Professor Henri Prentout of the University of Caen, *De l'Origine de la Formule "Dei Gratia" dans les Chartres d'Henri II.* (Caen, Imprimerie Caennaise, 1920, pp. 53).

*A History of the Port of London*, by Sir Joseph Guinness Broadbank, late chairman of the Dock and Warehouse Committee of the Port of London Authority, has been published by the house of Daniel O'Connor, in two illustrated volumes.

The exceptional position of Dover in the Middle Ages lends special importance and interest to *The Records of Dover* (Dover Express Office, pp. 210), in which Mr. John B. Jones, librarian of the Corporation, classifies and annotates its charters, record books, and papers, together with the Dover Customal.

*A Short History of the Cambridge University Press* will be published in the autumn in commemoration of the four-hundredth anniversary of the beginning of Cambridge printing.

No. 39 in the series of *Helps for Students of History* (S. P. C. K., Macmillan) is a little treatise on the sources for the history of Roman Catholics in England, Ireland, and Scotland from 1533 to 1795, by Father J. Hungerford Pollen, S. J.

Messrs. Christophers of London published in April a monograph by Sir Almeric FitzRoy, clerk of the Privy Council, on *Henry Duke of Grafton*, founder of the FitzRoy family, illustrated with reproductions of portraits not hitherto published.

Mr. Humphrey Milford announces a *History of the Rabbinate of the Great Synagogue, London*, by Dr. Charles Duschinsky, showing the history of the Ashkenazi community in London from 1675 to present times.

*The Wars of Marlborough*, by Frank Taylor, is published at Oxford by Basil Blackwell, and is a work of great value and importance.

Professor Wolfgang Michael has published part I. (Berlin, Rothschild, 1920) of Band II., *Das Zeitalter Walpole's*, of his *Englische Geschichte im Achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, covering, with his usual thoroughness and competence, the three years from the resignation of Townshend and Walpole in April, 1717, to their readmission and the reunion of the Whig Party in May, 1720.

The Historical Section of the Naval Records and Library Office, Navy Department, has published, as no. 4 of its series of publications, a pamphlet (93 pp.) entitled *Northern Barrage; Taking up Mines*, supplementary to its previous publication on the creation and maintenance of the barrage in the North Sea.

A volume which will, no doubt, possess considerable antiquarian

value in years to come is a privately printed work by E. C. Bentley on the *Peace Year in the City* (London, 1920, pp. 298), which describes, with illustrations, the events in London for about a year, beginning with November 9, 1918.

The *Scottish Historical Review* for April has an important article by Professor R. K. Hannay, On "Parliament" and "General Council"; and others, on the Stuart Papers in Windsor Castle by Walter Seton, on Rev. Ninian Campbell of Kilmacolm by Dr. David Murray, and on Samian Ware and the Chronology of Roman Occupation by S. M. Miller.

Dr. George O'Brien continues his books on Irish economic history by the publication of *The Economic History of Ireland from the Union to the Famine* (Longmans).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. B. Adams, *The Origin of the English Courts of Common Law* (Yale Law Journal, June); R. A. Newhall, *The War Finances of Henry V. and the Duke of Bedford* (English Historical Review, April); C. R. Fay, *Corn Prices and the Corn Laws, 1815-1846* (Economic Journal, March); F. Kattenbusch, *Irland in der Kirchengeschichte* (Theologische Studien und Kritiken XCIII. 1).

#### FRANCE

No small amount of new light is being thrown on the career of Richelieu by such recent works as *Autour de la Plume du Cardinal de Richelieu* (Paris, Société Française d'Imprimerie et de Librairie, 1920, pp. vi, 520), by M. Deloche.

Light is thrown on certain phases of French eighteenth-century history by *L'Affaire de l'Abbé Morellet en 1760* (Lyon, Lardanchet, 1920) by D. Delafarge; by *Nos Chicanoux, Procès Comtois du Dix-Huitième Siècle* (Paris, Champion, 1920, pp. viii, 207), by L. Boudoux; and by *Le Passé du Pyrénéisme, Notes d'un Bibliophile, Ramond de Carbonnières* (Paris, Fontaine, 1920, 2 vols., pp. 345, 341), by H. Beraldi, which deals with Cagliostro, Cardinal Rohan, and the necklace affair.

*Les Assemblées Provinciales de 1787* (Paris, Picard, 1921) is the doctoral thesis of P. Renouvin, and is prepared with the care and thoroughness customary in such studies.

Professor A. Aulard has collected several of his recent papers in an eighth volume of *Études et Leçons sur la Révolution Française* (Paris, Alcan, 1921). The topics are in most cases suggested by the peace negotiations, several of them relating to the districts on the left bank of the Rhine.

A recent publication of the commission for the economic history of the Revolution is *L'Industrie Sidérurgique en France au Début de la Révolution* (Paris, Imp. Nationale, 1920, pp. xxv, 557), by H. and G.

Bourgin. The volume is a careful compilation of details and statistics concerning the various foundries and iron-works and their output, with special reference to the year 1788.

The third volume of M. Lavissee's *Histoire de France Contemporaine* (Paris, Hachette) has appeared—*Le Consulat et l'Empire*, by G. Pariset, author of the second volume. The fourth volume is *La Restauration, 1815-1830*, by S. Charléty. The fifth volume, also by S. Charléty, covers in competent narrative the history of the July Monarchy.

Professor L. Lévy-Schneider, of the University of Lyons, in a large volume entitled *L'Application du Concordat par un Prélat de l'Ancien Régime: Mgr. Champion de Cicé, Archevêque d'Aix et d'Arles, 1802-1810* (Paris, F. Rieder, 1921, pp. xvi, 604), presents a very thorough and intelligent exposition of the manner in which an enlightened Gallican bishop managed the conduct of his functions, and his relations with the civil government, under the rule of Napoleon.

*L'Élection de l'Assemblée Législative en 1830* (Paris, F. Rieder, 1921, pp. 64), by Professor Gaston Génique, is an interesting attempt, with maps of the departments and of Paris, to show the geographical distribution of party votes at the time indicated.

The Century Company has recently published a volume on *French Foreign Policy, 1898-1914* (pp. 392), by Graham H. Stuart, of the University of Wisconsin.

A volume of former President Poincaré's *Messages, Discours, Allocutions, Lettres, et Télégrammes, Août 1910-Février 1920* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1921) has been published.

In the field of the local history of France, the following works may be noted: *La Peste à Toulouse des Origines au Dix-Huitième Siècle* (Toulouse, Marquiste, 1919, pp. 474), by Dr. J. Roucaud; *Études Historiques sur le Gévaudan* (Paris, Picard, 1919), by C. Porée; and a second volume of *Études Loxoviennes* (Paris, Champion, 1920, pp. 215), by C. Huard, J. Lahaye, and V. Lesquier.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Flach, *L'Origine et l'Avenir de la Propriété Immobilière* (*Revue des Sciences Politiques*, January); J. Gaillard, *Essai sur quelques Pamphlets contre la Ligue* [conclusion] (*Revue des Études Historiques*, October); L. Batiffol, *Les Faux Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, April 15); C. Bost, *Les "Prophètes" du Languedoc en 1701 et 1702: le Prédicant-Prophète Jean Astruc, dit Mandagout, I.* (*Revue Historique*, January); C. Saint-André, *L'Initiation de Louis XVI. à la Politique* (*Revue Hebdomadaire*, January 15); L. R. Gottschalk, *The Radicalism of Jean Paul Marat* (*Sewanee Review*, April); A. Mathiez, *L'Intrigue de Lafayette et des Généraux au Début de la Guerre de 1792* (*Annales Révolutionnaires*, March); H. Buffenoir, *Napoléon et J.-J.*

Rousseau (Compte Rendu de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, September); G. Brunet, *Napoléon et l'Adaptation au Malheur, Étude Psychologique* (Mercure de France, May 1); R. Chevaillier, *La Captivité et la Mort de Napoléon dans les Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe* (ibid.); J. Reinach, *La Diplomatie de la Troisième République, 1871-1914*, I. (Revue des Sciences Politiques, January); J. W. Pratt, *Clémenceau and Gambetta: a Study in Political Philosophy* (South Atlantic Quarterly, April); J. G., *Les Chemins de Fer Français pendant la Guerre* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, January).

#### ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

General review: C. Rinaudo, *Risorgimento Italiano, 1815-1920* (Rivista Storica Italiana, October).

B. Pitzorno has provided a study of *Le Leggi Spagnuole nel Regno di Sardegna* (Sassari, Operaia, 1919, pp. 128).

*La Cacciata degli Austriaci dalla Sicilia, 1734-1735* (Palermo, 1920, pp. 160), presents investigations by M. Marino.

*La Carboneria in Terra di Bari* (Bari Pansini, 1920, pp. 417), by S. La Sorsa, contributes much material on the history of secret political organizations in southern Italy in the period of the Risorgimento.

A Congress of Hispanic-American History and Geography took place at Seville, May 1-8, under the honorary presidency of the Infante Don Carlos, representing the king, and the presidency of the Marqués de Laurencin. All South American countries were officially represented. The next such congress will take place at Seville in 1924; the succeeding one is planned for Buenos Aires in 1926. Notable among the papers presented were biographical contributions of Señor Ribas of Colombia concerning the discoverers and conquerors of the kingdom of New Granada; that of Father Constantino Bayle, S. J., on the achievements of the Jesuits in California; that of Father Atanasio López on the first Franciscan missionaries in Mexico; and that of Señor Salvador Massip of Cuba on a pre-Columbian voyage of the Chinese to North America; while the scholarship of the United States in Hispanic-American matters was well represented by the paper by Miss Irene A. Wright, on Don Pedro de Valdes, governor of Cuba, 1601-1608. Next to the graceful hospitality of Seville, the most gratifying feature of the Congress was the evidence its proceedings afforded of the cordial good-will of Spanish-American scholars toward those of the United States and of their sense of the solidarity of America in many aspects of intellectual life.

M. Mañueco and J. Zurita have edited a volume of *Documentos de la Iglesia Colegial de Santa Maria la Mayor (hoy Metropolitana) de Valladolid, 1281-1300* (Valladolid, Castellana, 1920, pp. 520).

Señor Gervasio de Artiñano y de Galdácano, professor in the Central School of Engineering at Madrid, has issued in a small edition

(Madrid, Maldonado 4) a splendidly illustrated volume on *La Arquitectura Naval Española en Madera*, a volume of 440 pages of text, with eighty plates, some of them colored, describing and illustrating the evolution of Spanish naval architecture from the Middle Ages down to recent times.

Much light is cast on the obscure early history of the republic of Andorra by the third volume of *Privilegis i Ordinacions de les Vall's Pirenenques*, III., *Vall d'Andorra*, edited by Señor Ferran Valls Taberner, and published under the auspices of the provincial deputation of Barcelona (Imprenta de la Casa de Caritat, 1920); it is a valuable collection of thirty-eight historical documents, 1083-1497, eleven of them in Catalan and the rest in Latin, preceded by a learned historical introduction in Catalan.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Mary M. Moffat, *Eleonora Fonseca and the Neapolitan Revolution of 1799* (*Quarterly Review*, April); M. Menghini, *Giuseppe Mazzini sulla Via del Trionvirato*, *Documenti Inediti* (Nuova Antologia, February 1).

#### GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

General review: F. Kauffman, *Altgermanische Religion* (*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XX. 1).

Professor E. Norden in *Die Germanische Urgeschichte in Tacitus Germania* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1920, pp. x, 505) presents a comprehensive study of the linguistic, literary, ethnographical, and archaeological evidences for the history of the German peoples and of their geographical distribution down to their irruption into the Roman Empire at the beginning of the fifth century.

Albert von Hoffman has published the first volume of a *Politische Geschichte der Deutschen* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1921), which carries the narrative to the death of Conrad I.

F. Philippi's *Einführung in die Urkundenlehre des Deutschen Mittelalters* (Leipzig, Schroeder, 1920) is a useful manual.

The second volume of Max Lenz's *Kleine Historische Schriften* bears the subtitle *Von Luther zu Bismarck* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1920, pp. vii, 256). A volume of historical essays by the late Reinhold Koser is entitled *Zur Preussischen und Deutschen Geschichte* (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1921).

Arno Duch has undertaken the publication of a series of volumes entitled *Der Deutsche Staatsgedanke* (Munich, Drei-Masken Verlag). The several volumes will deal with the leading German political thinkers and the more important parties and contain illustrative selections from their writings and pronouncements. About thirty volumes are announced.

The second volume of the *Erinnerungen* of Ernst von Pleuen (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1921, pp. 462) deals with his parliamentary career from 1873 to 1891. *Vom Bismarck der 70er Jahre* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1920) by A. Wahl, and *Bismarcks Bündnispolitik* (Leipzig, Schroeder, 1920) by W. Platzhoff, may also be cited for the same period.

The last volume of *Bismarck's Reminiscences*, describing the relations between the chancellor and Kaiser Wilhelm II., has up to the present time, been suppressed in Germany. The Stuttgart firm Cotta, however, in whose custody the manuscript has remained for many years, have determined that it shall be made public, and an English translation, *New Chapters of Bismarck's Autobiography* (pp. 343), should be issued in London by Hodder and Stoughton, and in New York by Harper and Brothers.

M. René Brunet's *La Constitution Allemande du 11 Août 1919* (Paris, Payot, 18 fr.) is not only an excellent discussion of the constitution named, but a very intelligent history of the process of its formation.

Among recent contributions to the local history of Germany in the Middle Ages are: Rösser's *Beiträge zur Siedlungskunde der Südlichen Rhön und des Fränkischen Saaletals* (Munich, Verlag Natur und Kultur, 1920); Kehr's *Das Erzbistum Magdeburg und die Erste Organisation der Christlichen Kirche in Polen* (Berlin, Vereinigung Wissenschaftlicher Verleger, 1920); Krusch's *Die Hanoverische Klosterkammer in ihrer Geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Hanover, Schulze, 1919); A. Waas's *Bogtei und Bede in der Deutschen Kaiserzeit* (vol. I., Berlin, Weidmann, 1919, pp. xvi, 173); and Franz Schulze's *Die Handwerkerorganisation in Freiberg in Sachsen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Freiberg, Craz and Gerlach, 1920).

Professor Friedrich von Bezold is the author of a centennial *Geschichte der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität* (Bonn, Marcus and Weber, 1921). The same publishers are also issuing separate histories of the several faculties of the University of Bonn.

Carl Uhlirz has issued the first volume of an *Oesterreichische Geschichte* (Berlin, Vereinigung Wissenschaftlicher Verleger, 1920). *Das Nationalitätenproblem auf dem Reichstag zu Kremsier, 1848-1849* (Munich, Drei-Masken Verlag, 1920, pp. 210), presents the researches of Dr. Paula Geist-Lányi. Of wider value is Redlich's *Das Oesterreichische Staats- und Reichsproblem, Geschichtliche Darstellung der Inneren Politik der Habsburgischen Monarchie von 1848 bis zum Untergang des Reiches* (Leipzig, Der Neue Geist Verlag, 1920, pp. 816, 258).

R. Domenig has gathered much interesting and useful information in the volume *Zur Geschichte der Kommerzialstrasse in Graubünden* (Chur, Sprechen, 1919, pp. x, 215).

Otto Karmin has furnished full documentation for one of the minor sequels of the settlement of Europe by the Congress of Vienna, in *Les Antécédents du Bref "Inter Multiplices", le Transfert de Chambéry à Fribourg de l'Évêché de Genève, 1815-1819* (Geneva, Eggimann, 1920, pp. 278).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Preserved Smith, *A Decade of Luther Study* (Harvard Theological Review, April); F. Vigener, *Keteler vor dem Jahre 1848* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXIII. 3); R. Redslob, *Le Régime Politique de l'Alsace-Lorraine sous la Domination Allemande* (Revue du Droit Public et de la Science Politique en France et à l'Étranger, January); G. Lacour-Gayet, *Guillaume II. et la Marine Allemande* (Compte Rendu de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, September); F. Thimme, *Der Ehemalige Kronprinz als Politiker* (Preussische Jahrbücher, December); H. P. Hanssen, *Rigskansler von Bechmann-Hollwegs Fald, I.* (Tilskeuren, January); J. and J. Tharaud, *Bolchévistes de Hongrie, II. Michel Karolyi et Bela Kun* (Revue des Deux Mondes, April 15).

#### NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

Dr. E. C. G. Brünner's *De Order of de Buittenring van 1531* (Utrecht, A. Oosthoek, 1918, pp. 241), published in a Utrecht university series, considers the intricate organization of the province of Holland in the early days of Charles V., the economic relations of town and country districts before the edict of 1531 on their trade, and the effects of that decree.

Interesting light on an allied subject is cast by Professor Léon van der Essen, of Louvain, in a pamphlet entitled *Contribution à l'Histoire du Port d'Anvers et du Commerce d'Exportation des Pays-Bas vers l'Espagne et le Portugal à l'Époque de Charles-Quint* (Antwerp, Imp. E. Secelle, 1921, pp. 30).

The Commission Royale d'Histoire attached to the Belgian Academy, recovering from the effects of war with the same astonishing elastic energy which industrial Belgium has shown, has in 1920 published three large quarto volumes of historical documents of the highest interest. M. Napoléon de Pauw, president of the commission, presents the fruit of many years of patient labor in his *Cartulaire Historique et Généalogique des Artevelde* (pp. xviii, 924), giving the full text of some two hundred documents and summaries of some three thousand, and illustrating in the fullest manner the whole episode of the Artevelde and the life of their time in Flanders. M. Georges Espinas and Professor Henri Pirenne present the third volume of their *Recueil de Documents relatifs à l'His-*



toire de l'Industrie Drapière en Flandre (pp. xii, 840), completing the alphabet of towns, from La Gorgue to Ypres. There will be a final volume of indexes. Ypres occupies a half of the present volume (docs. 750-910) and is of course the prime example of a medieval Flemish cloth-making city. Of all the documents from its archives here gathered before the war, not one now remains. Finally, Professor Eugène Hubert, of Liège, prints the first volume (pp. lxxiv, 536) of the *Correspondance des Ministres de France accrédités à Bruxelles de 1780 à 1790*, entirely new material, throwing much light on both Belgian and French conditions and actions in fateful years. The Commission has also lately brought out the second volume (Brussels, M. Weissenbruch) of *Documents concernant la Principauté de Liège, 1517-1532*, derived from the papers of Cardinal Jerome Aleander and edited by Professors Alfred Cauchie and Alphonse Van Hove.

#### NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

S. E. Bring has edited G. Adlerfelt's *Karl XII's Krigsföretag, 1700-1706* (Stockholm, Norstedt and Sons, 1920, pp. xxxvii, 414), from the original manuscript.

Marc Slonine, a deputy to the Russian Constituent Assembly, has presented much first-hand information in *Le Bolchévisme vu par un Russe* (Paris, Bossard, 1921, pp. 208).

*A Prisoner of Trotsky*, by Andrew Kalpushnikov (Doubleday, Page, and Company), is a record of personal experiences by one who served as an official of the American Red Cross in Russia, and was imprisoned in the fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul, Petrograd. The course of Col. Raymond Robins and Col. W. M. Thompson, in connection with the Red Cross and the Russian political situation, is much discussed in the book. Another set of American experiences, extending through a wide range of Russian life under the Bolsheviks, is set forth with much clearness and force in *The Groping Giant; Revolutionary Russia as seen by an American Democrat* (Yale University Press), by William Adams Brown, jr.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Paléologue, *La Russie des Tsars pendant la Grande Guerre*, III.-V. (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 15, March 15, April 1); G. Rakovski, *Les Dernières Heures de Denikine, Transmission de ses Pouvoirs au Général Wrangel* (Revue Hebdomadaire, February 19).

#### SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

The "Oesterreichische Verlagsgesellschaft" (E. Hölzel and Company) of Vienna proposes to enter extensively upon the important task of making better known the rich treasures of manuscript material for the history of the Turkish Empire for which the libraries

of Vienna—especially the Nationalbibliothek (formerly Hofbibliothek) and that of the Oriental Academy—have long been famous. This will be done through a series of volumes called *Quellen zur Osmanischen Geschichte*, under the general editorship of Professor F. Kraeuzitz-Greifenhorst. It will comprise Turkish, Arabic, and Persian texts (original in one volume, translation and elucidations in another) and documents. *E.g.*, of the former, the first to appear will be the histories written by Lutfi Pasha, and by Prince Mustafa, son of Suleiman the Magnificent; of the latter, volumes of the diplomatic correspondence of the porte with the emperor. A serial publication, *Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte*, will report upon the progress of the series and will print minor texts.

Dr. Viktor Novak has published a volume on the *Scriptura Beneventana* (Agram, 1920, pp. 88, and 18 plates), with text in Croatian and with facsimiles drawn from various originals of the tenth and eleventh centuries preserved at Agram (Zagreb).

Some account of the relations between *L'Albanie Indépendante et l'Empire Khalifal Ottoman* (Paris, Perrin, 1920) has been furnished by Dukagjin-Zadeh Basri Bey.

The indefatigable Professor N. Jorga issues, in a single volume, a *Histoire des Roumains et de leur Civilisation* (Paris, Paulin), comprehensive and competent.

#### ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

In *Hellenism in Ancient India* (Calcutta, Butterworth, 1919), Dr. G. N. Banerjea analyzes carefully the evidences of Hellenistic influence, and concludes that while there was some modicum of such direct influence, many things which are sometimes ascribed to it are really due to indigenous developments occurring in similar periods.

After an interruption of six years, Mr. William Foster brings out the tenth volume of *The English Factories in India* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, pp. 440), calendaring documents of the period 1655-1660, but in a somewhat more compressed manner than in the preceding volumes.

*A Diplomat in Japan* (Philadelphia, Lippincott) is an account of the critical years in Japan when the ports were opened and the monarchy restored, by Sir Ernest Satow.

*The Working Forces in Japanese Politics: a Brief Account of Political Conflicts, 1867-1920*, by Uichi Iwasaki, is a recent number of the *Columbia University Studies*.

Mr. J. O. P. Eland's *China, Japan, and Corea*, based on personal investigations on his part, narrates the developments of the Far East since 1911, the first half of the book being historical.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Sir Aurel Stein, *Central Asian Relics of China's Ancient Silk Trade* (T'Oung Pao, XX. 2); A. Salz, *Die Mohammedaner in China* (Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv, January); H. B. Morse, *The Supercargo in the China Trade about the Year 1700* (English Historical Review, April); Abbé Richenet, *Note sur la Mission des Lazaristes en Chine, spécialement à Pékin* (T'Oung Pao, XX. 2).

#### AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

A brief sketch of the history of *Les Jésuites dans les États Barbaresques, Algérie et Maroc* (Paris, Lethielleux, 1920, pp. vi, 136), has been provided by Father Louis Charles. Professor E. Rouard de Card has added to his valuable series of volumes of sources for the diplomatic history of France and of Africa, *Accords Secrets entre la France et l'Italie concernant le Maroc et Lybie* (Paris, Pedone, 1920). Jean Genet has presented for his doctoral thesis an *Étude Comparative du Protectorat Tunisien et du Protectorat Marocain* (Paris, Tenin, 1920, pp. 112).

The *Egyptian Problem* (London, Macmillan, 1920, pp. xii, 331), by Sir Valentine Chirol, contains a valuable survey of affairs from the time of Mehemet Ali to the work of the Milner Commission.

In the series of *Helps for Students of History* (London, S.P.C.K.; New York, Macmillan) Mr. C. Graham Botha, archivist of the Union of South Africa, presents a pamphlet on *Records for the Early History of South Africa*; Dr. H. H. E. Craster, one on the *Western Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library*.

#### AMERICA

##### GENERAL ITEMS

As has been mentioned in another place, the director of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington is absent from this country from June 24 until November, spending the months of July, August, and September in England in various business of the department, but especially in preparations toward a series of volumes of the Correspondence of the British Ministers in Washington, which the department hopes to publish in the future. The first volume of Dr. E. C. Burnett's *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, a volume of 574 pages, extending from the beginning of the first Congress to July 4, 1776, and embracing 762 letters or parts of letters or diaries, carefully annotated, is expected to appear in August. Miss Elizabeth Donnan, assistant professor of economics in Wellesley College, now temporarily rejoining the staff of the department, spends the summer in London, in researches intended to complete her volumes of documents on the African Slave Trade into the North American Colonies and the United States.

The Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress has recently acquired the collection of autographs relating to the French Revolution made by the late John Boyd Thacher, and including some 1600 pieces; the papers of Joseph C. Breckinridge, 1880-1904, Dr. John R. and Gen. Joseph Desha, 1812-1860, and Miss Mary Desha, 1890-1910; a group of 50 letters written by Mrs. Henry Barnes, a Loyalist of Marlborough, Mass., 1768-1784; William Augustine Washington's ledger of accounts, two volumes, 1776-1800; papers of Brig.-Gen. Richard W. Hansen, C. S. A., 1860-1871, and of Blair and Rives, 1830-1871; miscellaneous papers of J. N. Nicollet, 1795-1843, including diaries of exploration of the Minnesota, Missouri, and Mississippi rivers in 1838 and 1839; about 250 additions to the papers of John McLean, 1830-1859; and Henry McCulloh's essay on representations covering colonial and other British trade, 1750 (a volume of 228 pp.).

In the Department of State a recent order of the Secretary has created a Division of Publications, charged with the preparation, custody, and distribution of all the department's publications, and embracing also the Bureau of Rolls and Library, the office of the Historian of the War, and that of the Editor of the Laws. The chief of this division, Dr. Gaillard Hunt, is also charged with the duty of providing facilities for study and research in the archives of the department, and he has prepared regulations which, under entirely suitable restrictions, give access to the archives to persons known to the department or properly accredited to it by responsible persons. A suitable room for such workers will before long be provided. The new arrangements are to be cordially welcomed, as marking a distinct step in advance.

Part II., vol. I. (pp. 241-511), of the *Catalogue of the John Carter Brown Library* has been distributed. It continues the *Catalogue* from 1569 to 1599 (not including the year 1600, as we should think it more natural to do). The last ninety-two pages of the text are devoted to a remarkable catalogue of the De Bry and Hulsius collections, all the editions possessed, of whatever date, being here brought together. There is also a good index of volume I.

The *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society in the semi-annual meeting of April, 1920, includes a letter from the Virginia Loyalist John Randolph, written to Thomas Jefferson from London in 1779, with comment by Mr. L. L. Mackall; a paper on William Thornton and Negro Colonization, by Dr. Gaillard Hunt, with documents; and a translated extract of that portion of Father Ribadeneyra's *Vida del P. Francisco de Borja*, III. *General de la Compañía de Jesús* (Madrid, 1592), which gives a history of the establishment of Jesuit missions in America. Mr. Brigham's *Bibliography of American Newspapers*, 1620-1820, is continued from A to N of the section relating to Pennsylvania.

The pages of the March number of the *Records of the American*

*Catholic Historical Society* are largely occupied with the Letters of Francis Patrick Kenrick to the Family of George Bernard Allen, 1849-1863. The present installment is of the years 1853-1857. This number contains also the address of the president of the society, Edward J. Galbally, delivered at the annual meeting in December, and a continuation of the History of Catholicity in Northampton County, Pennsylvania, by Rev. John E. McCann.

In the March number of the *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* appear an historical address, delivered by Dr. Bernard C. Steiner, on the occasion of the unveiling of the monument at North Point, October 27, 1920, to commemorate the first services of the Presbyterian church held within the bounds of the present presbytery of Baltimore; and the Records of the Middle Association of Congregational Churches of the State of New York, 1806-1810, part III., edited by Rev. Dr. John Quincy Adams.

Sidney A. Reeve is the author of a volume entitled *Modern Economic Tendencies: an Economic History of America*, being a study of economic development in the United States from the early part of the nineteenth century to the entrance of this country into the Great War.

Messrs. Lippincott have published *American History and Government* by Matthew P. Andrews.

#### ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

The Oxford University Press publishes *America's Norse Discoverers: the Wineland Sagas*, translated and discussed by G. M. Gathorne-Hardy.

*The Journal of Madam Knight* (of her journey from Boston to New York in 1704) has been brought out by Small, Maynard, and Company in a new edition, edited by Sarah Knight.

In *Logan, the Mingo* (Boston, Badger, pp. 110) Dr. Franklin B. Sawvel has related what is known of the life of the noted Indian chieftain and warrior, probably best known for his famous speech recorded by Jefferson in his *Notes on Virginia*.

Professor Dixon R. Fox, of Columbia University, would be greatly obliged if persons possessing letters of De Witt Clinton, or papers or information relating to that statesman, would communicate with him, since he is engaged upon a biography of Clinton.

The Carnegie Institution of Washington has brought out part III. (R to Z) of Miss Adelaide R. Hasse's *Index to United States Documents relating to Foreign Affairs, 1828-1861*.

Dr. Claude M. Fuess, of Andover, Mass., is preparing a biography of Caleb Cushing, whose papers have been placed at his disposal for the purpose. He would welcome information concerning any letters

of Cushing, or manuscripts or other materials respecting him. The loan of letters of Cushing will be an especial favor, and such letters will be duly returned.

*The Boyhood of Abraham Lincoln: from the Spoken Narratives of Austin Gollaher*, by J. Rogers Gore, is from the press of Bobbs-Merrill Company. Austin Gollaher was a playmate of Lincoln.

A varied and notable career is described in the two volumes of the *Life of Whitclaw Reid*, war-correspondent, editor of the *New York Tribune*, minister to France, and ambassador to Great Britain, by Royal Cortissoz (Scribner).

P. A. Risco has issued a second and enlarged edition of his well-documented account of *La Escuadra del Almirante Cervera* (Madrid, 1920, pp. 285).

The President, by an executive order, has directed the War Department to take over the records of the Council of National Defense, of the War Industries Board, of the Committee of Public Information, and of the War Labor Board.

In its series of *Preliminary Economic Studies of the War*, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace brings out a volume by Dr. J. Franklin Crowell, of much interest to students of administration, on *Government War Contracts* (New York, Oxford University Press, pp. xiv, 357).

#### LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

##### NEW ENGLAND

*The Pilgrims of Plymouth*, an address delivered by Senator Lodge at Plymouth on the 300th anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims, is issued by the Government Printing Office (66th Cong., 3d sess., Senate doc. 351).

Mr. Albert H. Plumb's *William Bradford of Plymouth* (Boston, Richard G. Badger, pp. 112) is a pleasing narrative in which history of the Pilgrims is picturesquely grouped around the personal story of their governor and historian.

*New Light on the Pilgrim Story* (London, Memorial Hall, 1920), by Rev. Thomas W. Mason, contains a considerable amount of anecdotal and antiquarian material with good illustrations of English scenes connected with the Pilgrims.

Professor Waldo S. Pratt, professor of church music in Hartford Theological Seminary, devotes a pamphlet of eighty pages to *The Music of the Pilgrims* (Boston, Oliver Ditson and Co.), in which he describes the psalm-book of Henry Ainsworth which the Pilgrims brought with them to Plymouth in 1620, discusses in excellent fashion

its character and that of the melodies which it contains, gives a facsimile page or two, and presents in modern notation the thirty-nine psalm-tunes of the original.

The Massachusetts Historical Society has returned to the state of Connecticut the papers of Governor Jonathan Trumbull, an extensive collection which a grandson of the governor gave to the society in 1795, when no similar place of safe deposit existed in Connecticut. The papers, however, relate chiefly to Connecticut history, and a committee of the Massachusetts Historical Society, composed of Messrs. Lodge, Rhodes, Lord, and Ford, reported lately in favor of returning the papers to that state. This recommendation the society adopted. The transaction is almost unique because of the size of the collection transferred, and the society is to be commended for performing an act of justice and of generosity. It is to be hoped that this striking example of the restoration of state papers to their original and proper location will be followed by other institutions.

Under the title, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860*, Houghton Mifflin Company will soon publish an important work on the ships, shipping, and commerce of Massachusetts, her whaling and fishing industries, her ports, her wars, and her pirates, by Dr. Samuel E. Morison of Harvard University. The volume will be elaborately illustrated, and will be published in a small edition.

*The Battle on Lexington Common, April 19, 1775* (pp. 60), by Frank W. Coburn, is published in Lexington, Mass., by the author.

Francis B. C. Bradlee's History of the Boston and Maine Railroad is concluded in the April number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections*.

#### MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The Division of Archives and History in the State Department of Education at Albany has issued a booklet on the *Records of Ballston Spa*, and has others in the press, on the records of the town of Huntington, and of the county of Suffolk. The director of the department, Dr. James Sullivan, spends a portion of the summer in England and France, with a view to the obtaining of additional material for the history of New York from foreign archives.

The *Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association* for January contains an account of the meeting of the association at Bear Mountain in October, an historical address entitled *Bear Mountain*, by G. A. Blauvelt, and one upon *Some Historical Aspects of Relief Work in New York State*, by Homer Folks.

The New York Historical Society has received a large collection of Dutch household utensils and relics, collected by Dr. George W. Nash of



Ulster County, who has been many years gathering objects, in various parts of what was once New Netherland. The collection numbers 332 items.

*The Ratification of the Federal Constitution by the State of New York*, by Clarence E. Miner, is among the *Columbia University Studies*.

*A History of Hauppauge, Long Island, N. Y.*, by Simeon Wood of that place, is issued in a very small edition (75 copies for sale) by Charles J. Werner, New York.

In the April number of the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* Hon. Francis J. Swayze presents an Epitome of the Constitutional Convention of 1844, and Cornelius C. Vermeule, Some Revolutionary Incidents in the Raritan Valley. In the same issue are found two Revolutionary letters of Col. Charles Stewart, commissary-general of issues, to Moore Furman, September and October, 1780, and a letter of Abraham Clark to Judge Robert Morris, November 5, 1793, concerning pensions, together with Judge Morris's reply, December 25.

The articles of chief interest in the four numbers of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* from October, 1919, to July, 1920, are the following: the Genesis of the Charter of Pennsylvania, by Hon. Hampton L. Carson (October, 1919); the Political Ideas of John Adams, by Francis N. Thorpe (January, 1920); a Memoir of Colonel William Denny (1709-1765), Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania, by Rev. H. L. L. Denny; a Century of Grand Opera in Philadelphia, by John Curtis (April, 1920); and Letters of the Four Beatty Brothers of the Continental Army, 1774-1794, edited by Joseph M. Beatty, jr. A series of letters of Thomas Rodney (begun in January, 1919), contributed by Simon Gratz, continues.

Among the contents of the April number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* are an address, by Dr. Samuel B. McCormick, on the Pilgrims in America, and the first installment (1812-1813) of a history, by Capt. John H. Niebaum, of the Pittsburgh Blues.

#### SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The contents of the March number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* include an article on Col. Gerard Fowke of Virginia and Maryland, from 1651, by Gerard Fowke of St. Louis, Missouri; one on the Calvert Family, by J. B. Calvert Nicklin; some letters of Daniel Dulany, 1771, 1783, and 1785; and a so-called "minority report" in the case of the *Good Intent*, dated April 16, 1770.

The Typothetae of Baltimore announce the publication, in a handsome volume of limited edition, of a *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland, 1686-1776*, by Lawrence C. Roth, of the Enoch Pratt Free Library, the result of full and careful investigations, casting much fresh

light on the subject. Appended to the narrative will be an elaborate list of Maryland imprints of the period indicated.

Vol. XXIII, of the *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* (1920, pp. vii, 247) has an article by Dr. William Tindall, on the naming of the District of Columbia and the city of Washington, one by Miss Virginia K. Frye, on the history of St. Patrick's Church, one on Joseph Gales, jr., Editor and Mayor, by A. C. Clark, and a history of Anacostia, by Charles R. Burr.

The Department of Archives and History in the Virginia State Library has lately acquired the inventory of the estate of Lord Botetourt, governor of Virginia 1768-1770, with other papers relating to his estate. Under an order of court, as provided by law, the records of Charles City County up to 1700 have been transferred to the State Library.

The January number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* contains a report ("Supplement, no. 1") of the Virginia War History Commission, presenting a list of source-material from Virginia counties collected for the Virginia war archives. The commission hopes that this early publication of the list will, by revealing the gaps in the material, induce a timely effort to fill them. This list will be followed by a similar list of records collected by the cities of Virginia, and that by a register of the military histories of Virginia organizations and of the more important diaries and narratives of Virginians in active service. In the same number is a group of documents relating to early projected Swiss colonies in the Valley of Virginia, 1706-1709.

The April number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* contains an address on William Claiborne of Kent Island, delivered by J. Herbert Claiborne before the Maryland Society of New York in April, 1919. Documentary contents of the number include: a report of Anthony Langston on Towns and Corporations and on the Manufacture of Iron (1657); a letter of John Clayton, written from James City in 1684; some letters of Robert Pleasants of Curles, 1771 and 1774; and notes relative to some students of the college, 1770-1778.

Among the contents of the April number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* are: a brief article on the Judiciary Power, one by Dr. Archibald Henderson concerning the Litchfield Law School, a memorial for an established church (1776), and a petition of William and Mary College to the house of delegates in 1776, relating to the financial condition of the college.

Volume XVII., no. 1, of the *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, published under the direction of the North Carolina Historical Society, contains two papers: The Free Negro in North Carolina, by R. H. Taylor, and Some Colonial History of Craven County, by Francis H. Cooper.

The contents of the October number of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* include an interesting Bill of Complaint in Chancery, 1700, contributed by Miss Mabel L. Webber; Inscriptions from the Church-yard at Strawberry Chapel, also contributed by Miss Webber; and two letters from Charles Cotesworth Pinckney to Ralph Izard, 1794.

The March number of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* contains two excellent articles: the Nullification Movement in Georgia, by Dr. E. Merton Coulter, and the Freedman's Bureau in Georgia in 1865-1866, by Dr. C. Mildred Thompson. There is also an installment of Howell Cobb Papers, edited by Professor R. P. Brooks. It is announced that other Cobb papers (letters by and to Howell Cobb), to the number of about 150, will follow, drawn chiefly from those in possession of Mrs. A. S. Erwin of Athens, Georgia, and comprising letters not included in the *Correspondence* of Toombs, Stephens, and Cobb, in the American Historical Association's *Report*, 1913, vol. II.

The recent decision of the Louisiana constitutional convention to publish all future acts of the legislature in English only, brings to an end the bilingual practice which has prevailed since the cession of the territory in 1803.

#### WESTERN STATES

The thirteenth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held in Madison, Wis., April 14-16. The presidential address, by Professor Chauncey S. Boucher of the University of Texas, was on "That Aggressive Slavocracy". Other papers were on the Historical Museum, by Professor Edward C. Page; on George Rogers Clark's Service of Supply, by Professor James G. Randall; on the Political Influence of Civil War Pensions, by Professor Donald L. McMurry; and on Ohio's German Language Press in the Campaign of 1920, by Professor Carl Wittke.

The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society has recently received for its museum at Columbus a valuable collection of relics and papers that belonged to John Brown and his warrior sons, including guns, swords, uniforms, surveying instruments, etc., as well as autograph letters. They have come to the society from a daughter of Capt. John Brown, jr., of Put-in-Bay.

The January-June number of the *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* consists of a single paper, the Ohio Company, a Colonial Corporation, by Herbert T. Leyland, of the University of Cincinnati.

Volume I. of the *History of the Ohio State University*, edited by Dr. Thomas C. Mendenhall, has come from the press. The work will extend to three volumes (Columbus, the University).

It is understood that the Indiana Historical Society has been making special efforts to enlarge the scope of its activities and to secure a membership more representative of all sections of the state, and in consequence has considerably more than doubled its membership during the present year.

The articles of chief interest in the March number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* are one on Methodism in Southwestern Indiana, by John E. Inglehart, and a second paper by Elmore Barce on the Savage Allies of the Northwest. Both articles are to be continued.

The Illinois State Historical Library expects to send to press in the near future a volume of the *Illinois Historical Collections*, containing additional documentary material on the British régime in Illinois, and a second volume of the *George Rogers Clark Papers*. The former is edited by Professors Alvord and Carter, the latter by Professor J. A. James. The library has in preparation a history of the Illinois National Guard, by Lieut.-Col. Frederic L. Huidekoper. The work will consist of one volume of text and notes, two volumes of illustrative documents, and a portfolio of maps.

*The Illinois Country, 1673-1818*, by Clarence W. Alvord, constituting vol. I. of the *Centennial History of Illinois*, has come from the press (McClurg).

The *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* for July, 1919, contains an extended study, by John D. Barnhart, jr., of the Rise of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Illinois from the Beginning to the Year 1832. There is also an address, the *Pioneers of Wabash County*, by Theodore G. Risley. The principal content of the October, 1919, number is a so-called War Diary of Thaddeus H. Capron, 1861-1865, being in fact extracts from letters written to members of his family during his service in the 55th Illinois Infantry Volunteer Regiment. Some contributions of lesser extent are: the War Work of the Women of Illinois, by Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen; and a Sketch of the Life and Services of Col. Theodore S. Bowers, former adjutant-general on the staff of General Grant, by Theodore G. Risley.

The annual report of the trustees of the Newberry Library notes the acquisition during the year 1921, for the Edward E. Ayer Collection, of transcripts of 518 documents from the Archives of the Indies at Seville and the Mexican archives, consisting of 7489 pages, making the total number of pages of these transcripts now in the collection 57,817.

In the April number of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* appear, besides continued studies, a history of the Sisters of Mercy, Chicago's Pioneer Nurses and Teachers, by a sister of the community; and an account, by Joseph J. Thompson, of the First Chicago Church Records, including a baptismal record of the years 1833-1839.

In the July (1920) number of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* appear an address, by Col. W. A. Henderson, entitled the Adventures of De Soto; a reprint, from the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (December, 1918), of Professor Sioussat's paper on Andrew Johnson and the Early Phases of the Homestead Bill; and an article by Samuel C. Williams on the North Carolina-Tennessee Boundary Line Survey, 1799. Mr. Williams contributes with his article the diary of daily occurrences (April 12 to May 29, 1799) kept by John Strother, one of the surveyors.

The Michigan Historical Commission has issued, as Bulletin no. 13, *Michigan at Shiloh*, being the report of the Michigan Shiloh Soldiers' Monument Commission. There are numerous portraits and illustrations.

The Wisconsin Historical Society has received a valuable source for agricultural history in Wisconsin, in the form of thirteen volumes of the journal of Jacob Baumgartner, running from 1846 to 1916. The first volume describes the travels of the writer, then a young journeyman dyer of Bavaria, covering on foot some 5000 miles in Germany, his emigration to America, and his early life in Wisconsin, where he was from 1853 a farmer at Fennimore.

Dr. Joseph Schafer, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, expects to publish this autumn the first volume of the *Wisconsin Domesday Book*, presenting township charts of farms and farmers of 1860 for at least twenty-five townships, in some twenty counties, with text showing types and origin of settlers, early conditions, and the economic and social development of the communities.

The March number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* contains an informing study, by Col. Arthur L. Conger, of the Military Education of Grant as General; a sketch of Doctor William Beaumont, his Life in Mackinac and Wisconsin, 1820-1834, by Deborah Beaumont Martin; Chronicles of Early Watertown, by William F. Whyte; suggestions for a historical museum, by Professor Carl R. Fish; and a series of letters of Chauncey H. Cooke, a Wisconsin soldier in the Civil War, written from Columbus, Kentucky, in the winter and spring of 1863.

The University of Minnesota has inaugurated a Bibliographical Series of publications by printing an elaborate catalogue of the *Sources of English History of the Seventeenth Century, 1603-1689, in the University of Minnesota Library* (pp. 565), compiled by James T. Gerould, formerly librarian of the university. The collection is a rich one; there are more than four thousand entries, including books, pamphlets, and articles in various collected series. Such a catalogue may well be of great use to students anywhere.

Among the recent acquisitions of the State Historical Society of Iowa are: a manuscript journal, by James Sullivan, of a journey from Iowa to Oregon and California in 1850; one, by William Clark, of a journey across the plains of Utah in 1857; a file of original Confederate general orders of the headquarters of the district of Western Louisiana in 1864; and a collection of some 2000 pamphlets, dealing largely with the Civil War and reconstruction, gathered by James W. Grimes, governor of Iowa, 1854-1858, and United States senator, 1859-1871. By act of the general assembly of Iowa, \$20,500 has been added to the permanent annual appropriation of the society.

The principal contents of the January number of the *Annals of Iowa* are: a reprint of *Galland's Iowa Emigrant* (1840); a sketch of Maj.-Gen. Lewis A. Grant (1829-1918), by Charles Keyes; and two letters from Gen. Joseph M. Street, Indian agent, written from Prairie du Chien in December, 1827.

*A History of the People of Iowa*, by Cyrenus Cole, is published in Cedar Rapids by the Torch Press.

The State Historical Society of Missouri has brought out, as a Missouri Centennial Publication, a volume containing the *Journal of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875*, with an historical introduction on constitutions and constitutional conventions in Missouri, by Dr. Isidor Loeb, and a biographical account of the personnel of the convention, by Floyd C. Shoemaker.

The Missouri Historical Society at St. Louis has recently come into possession of an extensive theatrical collection, consisting of diaries of local managers, letters, programmes, several hundred prompter's play-books, etc., of the period of 1848-1895.

*Memoirs, Life, and Influence of Dr. and Mrs. Joseph Cowgill Maple: a Résumé of Baptist Activities in Missouri during the Sixty Years 1857-1917*, is by Richard P. Rider (Jefferson City, Missouri, Hugh Stephens Printing Company).

In the April number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* appears an extended study, by Annie Middleton, of Donelson's Mission to Texas in Behalf of Annexation, and a paper by J. Fred Rippy entitled *Some Precedents of the Pershing Expedition into Mexico*. A. K. Christian presents the sixth chapter in his study of M. B. Lamar, relating to Lamar's closing years.

The University of Texas has just acquired by purchase the library of the late Señor Genaro García, comprising some eighteen thousand volumes, in addition to a large collection of manuscripts from the private archives of various statesmen of the nineteenth century. If not the most complete library of Mexicana in existence, it

is at least the most complete that is not already in the possession of an institution, and thus unobtainable.

*Publications*, vol. II., of the Kansas State Historical Society embraces the *Recollections of Early Days in Kansas*, by Shalor W. Eldridge, a participant in the territorial struggles. There is a preface by Robert G. Elliott, written in 1898, who appears to have had a hand in the preparation of the narrative.

*Pacific Northwest Americana*, compiled by Charles W. Smith of the library of the University of Washington, on the basis of an earlier attempt published by that library in 1909, is a check-list of books and pamphlets relating to the history of the Pacific Northwest to be found in any of the fifteen largest and most important libraries of Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, and British Columbia. It contains some 4510 numbered items, with many bibliographical notes.

Besides continued articles hitherto mentioned, the April number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* contains a brief paper by Victor J. Farrar concerning Joseph Lane McDonald and the Purchase of Alaska, and a Bibliography of Railroads in the Pacific Northwest, by Marian Cordz.

The University of Washington library has received, by gift of Mr. Clarence B. Bagley, the records (39 volumes) of the Washington Mill Company, one of the large pioneer lumbering mills of Washington Territory, dating from 1856. The library has also received from the estate of Thomas W. Prosch a valuable body of materials pertaining to the history of Puget Sound.

The three articles in the December number of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* are all concerned to an extent with the name Oregon. They are, Oregon: its Meaning, Origin, and Application, by John E. Rees; the Early Explorations and the Origin of the Name of the Oregon Country, by William H. Galvani; and the Strange Case of Jonathan Carver and the Name Oregon, by T. C. Elliott.

The California Historical Survey Commission has issued a report on *The Battle of San Pasqual* (pp. 17), with special reference to its location, by Dr. Owen C. Coy, director.

#### CANADA

The June number of the *Canadian Historical Review* has three main articles, all of much interest: on the Nature of Canadian Federalism, by Professor W. P. M. Kennedy; the New Provincial Archives of Quebec, by Col. William Wood; and the Literature of the Peace Conference, by Professor R. H. Williams. Professor W. B. Munro contributes a document hitherto unpublished, containing an official account of the Brandy Parliament of 1678.



*The United States of Canada: a Political Study*, by Professor George M. Wrong, of Toronto, is the George Slocum Bennet Foundation lectures of Wesleyan University, second series (1919-1920). Among the subjects treated are the growth of federalism in North America, and the place of Canada in the British Commonwealth (Abingdon Press).

Volume VI. of *Canada in the Great World War*, by J. S. P. Macpherson and others (Toronto, United Publishers of Canada, pp. viii, 393), has lately appeared. It is devoted to chapters on special services, on heroic deeds especially demanding notice, etc.

A new era for the Archives of the Province of Quebec began with the creation in 1920 of the Provincial Archives Branch, under Mr. Pierre G. Roy as archivist. Under the general title of *Archives de la Province de Québec*, he will continue his series of inventories, of which nine volumes have already been published. The first two, *Inventaire d'une Collection de Pièces Judiciaires* (1917), were noticed by us at the time of publication. In 1919 Mr. Roy published four volumes called *Inventaire des Ordonnances des Intendants de la Nouvelle France conservées aux Archives Provinciales de Québec*; in 1920, two volumes of *Lettres de Noblesse, Généalogies, etc., insinuées par le Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle France*; in 1921, a single volume, *Inventaire des Insinuations du Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle France*. The volumes are in some degree summarized by Colonel Wood, in the article mentioned above.

#### AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

In the *Hispanic-American Historical Review* for February the most important matter is an excellent article by Professor Percy A. Martin on the Causes of the Collapse of the Brazilian Empire. There is also a paper by Mr. Webster E. Browning on James Lancaster and the Lancasterian System of Mutual Instruction, with special reference to the propagation of that system in the Spanish-American republics during their early years. Mr. C. R. Jones continues his list of Hispanic-American bibliographies (nos. 465-752). Señor Tomás Thayer Ojeda describes the manuscripts section of the Biblioteca Nacional of Chile. The May number contains the papers read before the American Historical Association by Professors Manoel de Oliveira Lima and Julius Klein, respectively, on Pan-Americanism and the League of Nations, and on the Monroe Doctrine as a Regional Understanding; also an article by Professor I. J. Cox, on "Yankee Imperialism" and Spanish-American Solidarity, as seen by Colombian publicists. There is also a ministerial order of José de Gálvez respecting import duties on negro slaves, 1784, and a convention between Spain and the Netherlands respecting deserters and fugitives, 1791.

The Hispanic Society of America publishes in a handy volume of handsome typography (pp. xviii, 451) a *List of Works for the Study of Hispanic-American History*, by Dr. Hayward Keniston, listing in excellent form two or three thousand of the most important primary and

secondary books relative to the history of Spanish and Portuguese America in general (up to 1830), and on the individual countries and states. The result is a highly useful manual.

Among the more recent Spanish publications in American history we note *El Descubrimiento del Estrecho de Magallanes* (Madrid, Rivadeneyra), by Fathers Pablo Pastells, S. J., and Constantino Bayle; in the *Biblioteca Ayacucho*, vol. I. of *El Teniente General Don Pablo Morillo, Primer Conde de Cartagena, Marqués de la Puerta, 1778-1783* (Madrid, J. Pueyo, 1920), by Señor Antonio Rodríguez Villa; and a volume by Señor Jerónimo Becker on *La Política Española en las Indias, Rectificaciones Históricas* (Madrid, Ratés, 1920, pp. 454).

*Modern Mexican History* (pp. 36), by Professor Herbert I. Priestley, is brought out by the Institute of International Education.

The July-December number of the *Boletín del Archivo Nacional* (of Cuba) contains two documents pertaining to the case of John S. Thrasher, an American citizen resident in Havana and publisher (1849-1851) of the newspaper *Faro Industrial de la Habana*. Thrasher was accused of conspiracy and imprisoned, but was later released. One of the documents printed in the *Boletín* is a long letter from Thrasher to the captain-general of Cuba, dated at Madrid, March 22, 1852, the other an address delivered by him at a banquet given by his friends in New Orleans in celebration of his release. Both documents are in Spanish translations.

No. 2 of the first volume of the *Anales de la Academia de la Historia* (Havana) contains continuations of the bibliography of Enrique Piñeyro, and of the correspondence of Domingo del Monte.

J. M. P. Sarmiento has published the records of the *Proceso de Nariño* (Cadiz, Alvarez, 1920, pp. xxxii, 238). Nariño translated and published the Declaration of the Rights of Man at Bogotá in 1794, and from that time forward was involved in various plots and in the final struggle for independence. He became vice-president of the Colombian republic and died in 1823.

A sketch of the life and work of Bolívar, *Simón Bolívar, el Libertador, Patriot, Warrior, Statesman, Father of Five Nations* (Washington, the author, pp. 233), has been prepared from Venezuelan and American sources by Professor Guillermo A. Sherwell of Georgetown University, and presents an interesting and appreciative narrative on the occasion of the recent centennial observances.

The latest volume issued by the Hakluyt Society is the *Memorias Antiguas Historiales del Perú*, by Fernando Montesinos, a Spanish Jesuit, credulous but using important sources now lost, who was in Peru probably from 1628 to 1642. The memoirs are translated and edited by Mr. Philip A. Means, and there is an introduction by the late Sir Clements R. Markham.

The *Epistolario de Don Bernardo O'Higgins, Capitán General y Director Supremo de Chile* (Madrid, Editorial-América, 1920, 2 vols.), has been edited by E. de la Cruz.

Throughout the war the Argentine government has not ceased its work of publishing, through the historical section of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters, the volumes of its remarkable series of *Documentos para la Historia Argentina*. Vols. V., VI., and VII. (1915-1916) were composed of documents illustrating the history of commerce, 1713-1809; vols. X., XI., and XII., of census materials, 1726-1810. Vol. XIII. (1920, pp. 369) contains a body of 280 official communications of the government of Buenos Aires relating to internal affairs in the period of the supreme magistracy of Martín Rodríguez, 1820-1823, edited with admirable care by Dr. Emilio Ravignani. The next volume will contain documents of foreign policy relating to the same period; later volumes, documents of the constitution of 1831 and the period of Rosas.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. H. Babcock, *Recent History and Present Status of the Vinland Problem* (Geographical Review, April); C. E. Chapman, *Drake and New Albion*, cont. (Grizzly Bear, April); P. B. Potter, *The Nature of American Territorial Expansion* (American Journal of International Law, April); E. Peterffy, *Die Entwicklung der Amerikanischen Industrie* (Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik, January, February); W. Trimble, *The Social Philosophy of the Loco-Foco Democracy* (American Journal of Sociology, May); C. C. Pearson, *William Henry Ruffner: Reconstruction Statesman of Virginia*, II. (South Atlantic Quarterly, April); W. H. Garrett, *True Story of the Capture of John Wilkes Booth* (Confederate Veteran, April); F. B. Simkins, *Race Legislation in South Carolina since 1865*, II. (South Atlantic Quarterly, April); R. H. Post, *How Theodore Roosevelt made the Government Efficient* (World's Work, April); Corinne Roosevelt Robinson, *My Brother Theodore Roosevelt*, cont. (Scribner's Magazine, April, May, June); Count Sergius Witte, *Memoirs: America and the Portsmouth Peace Conference; Meetings with Roosevelt and Morgan* (World's Work, March, April); J. L. Laughlin, *Some Recollections of Henry Adams* (Scribner's Magazine, May); L. Dupriez, *La Législation contre les Partis aux Etats Unis* (Académie Royale de Belgique, Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres, 1920, no. 9); E. A. Ortiz, *El Padre Las Casas y los Conquistadores Españoles en América* (Cuba Contemporánea, March, April); C. S. S. Higham, *The Early Days of the Church in the West Indies* (Church Quarterly Review, April); I. J. Cox, *The Colombian Treaty: Retrospect and Prospect* (Journal of International Relations, April); R. A. Orgaz, *A Synopsis of the History of Argentine Social Ideas* (Inter-America, English, April).





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